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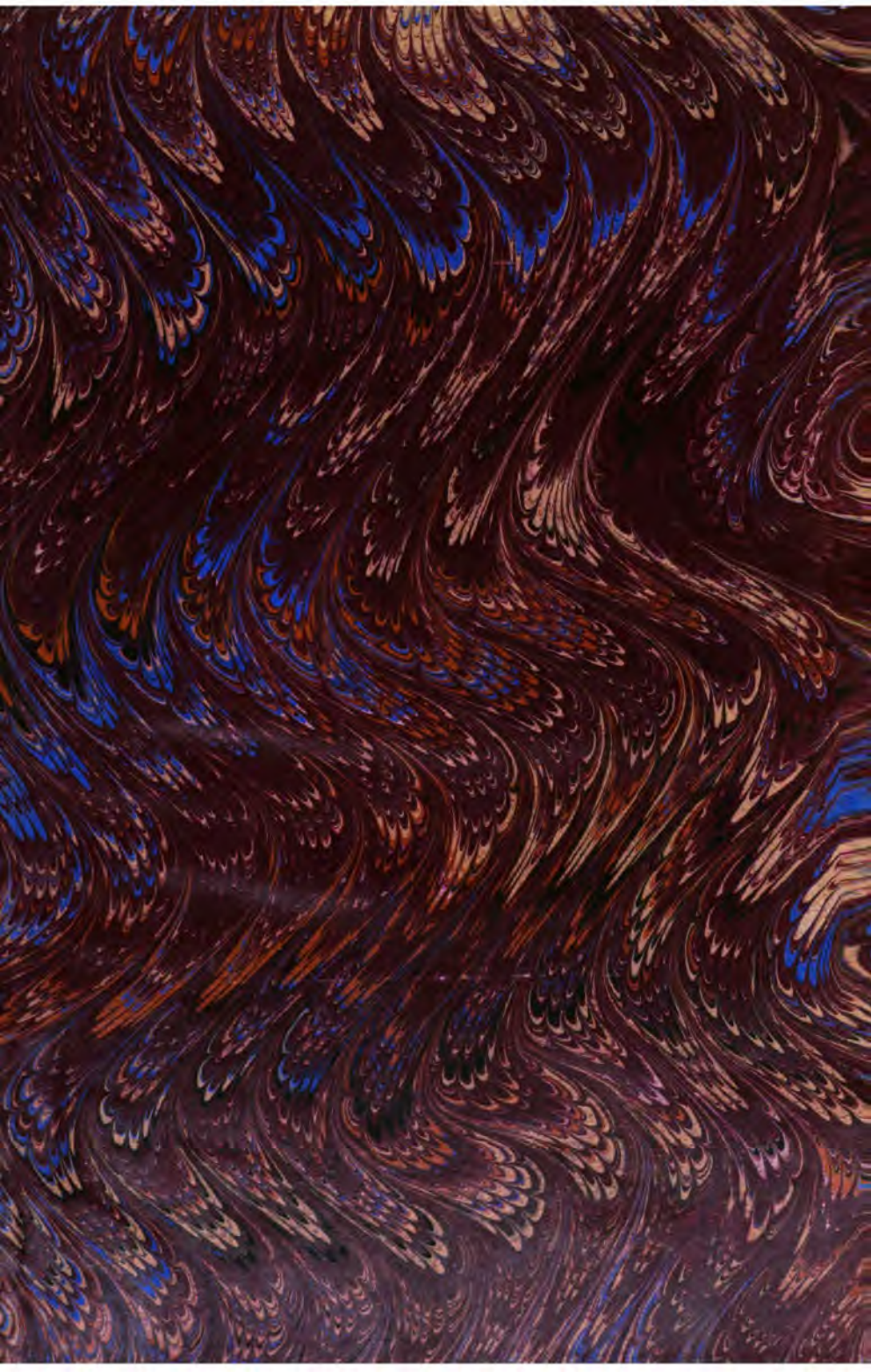
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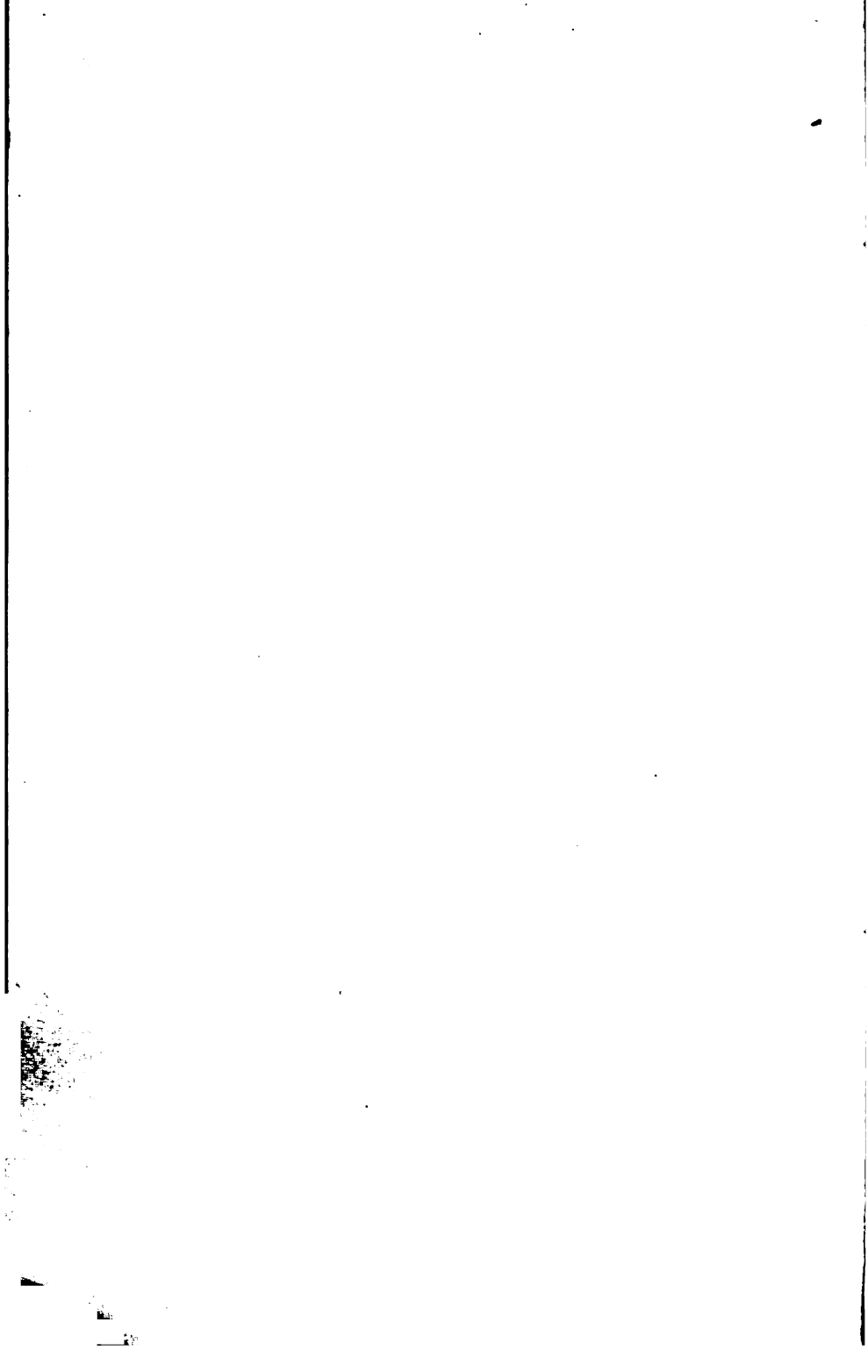


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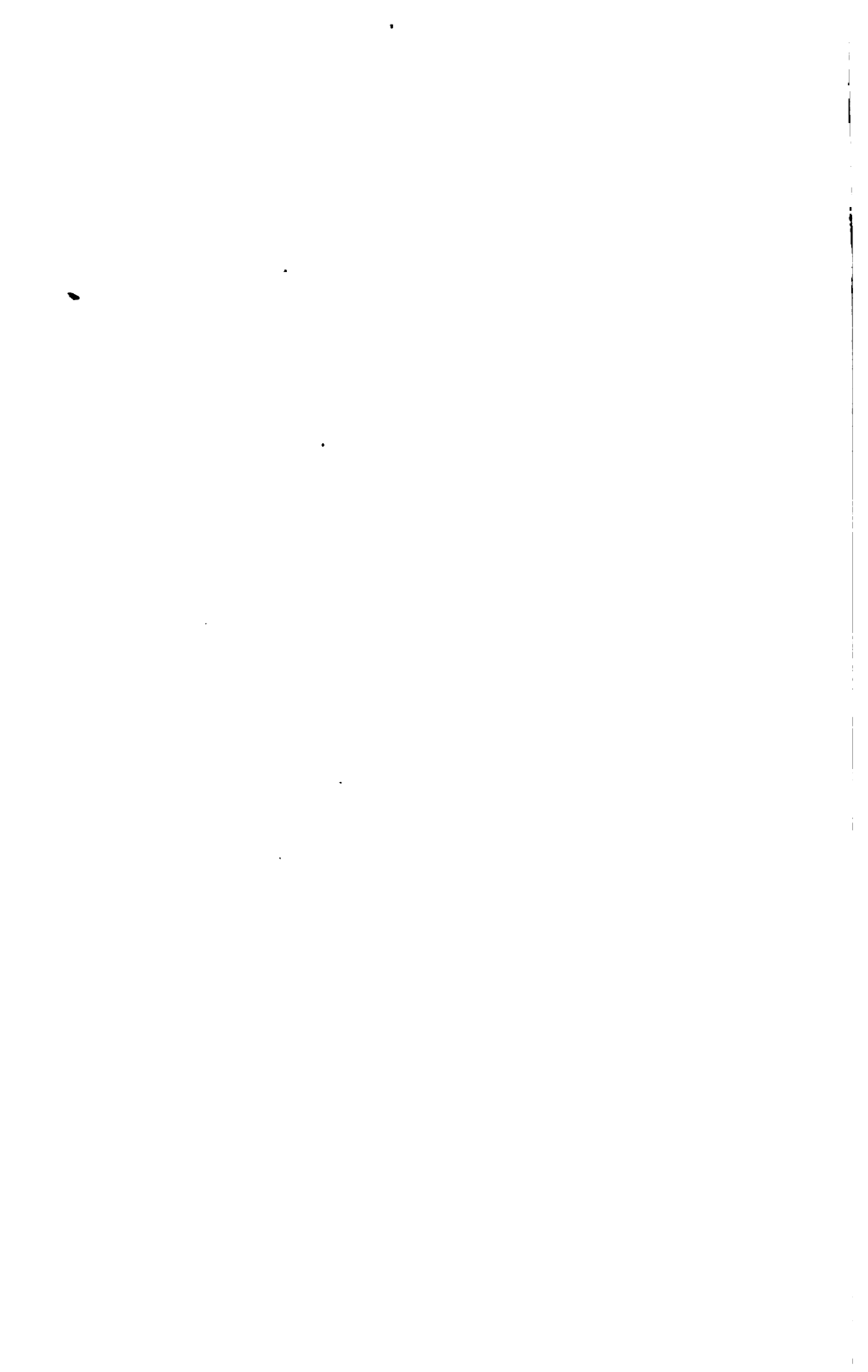


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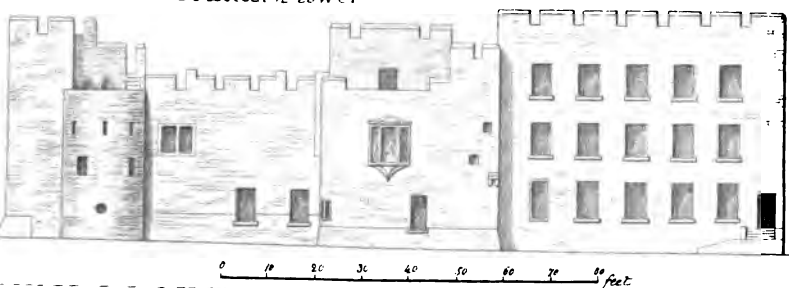
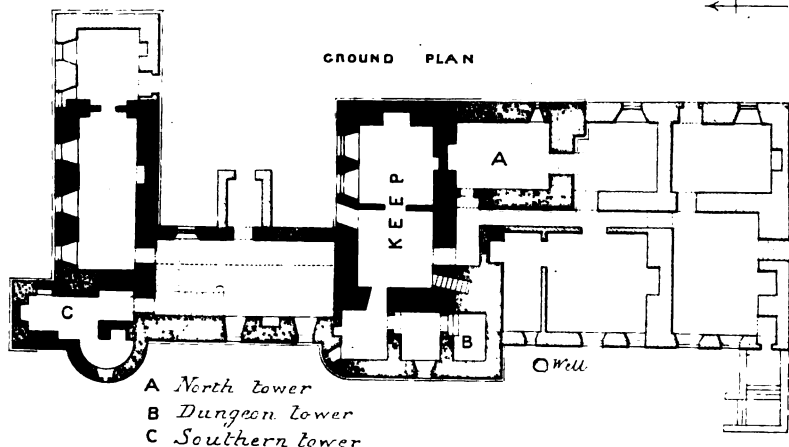


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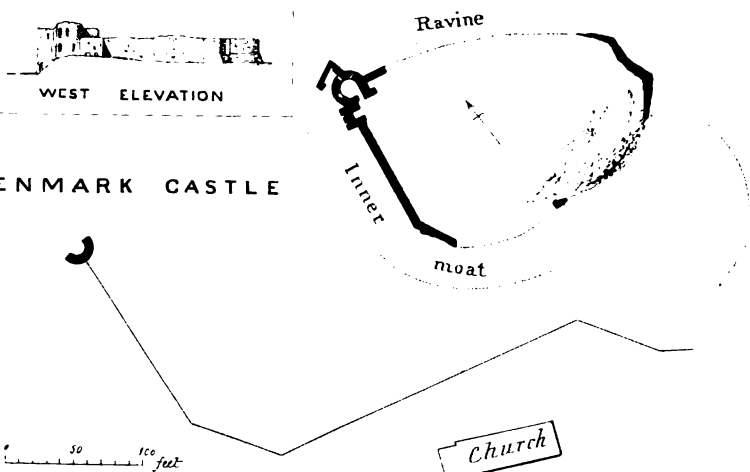


FONMON CASTLE

GROUND PLAN



PENMARK CASTLE



Archæologia Cambrensis,

THE

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VOL. VII. THIRD SERIES.

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PREFACE TO VOL. VII.

IN presenting another volume to the Association, the Editorial Sub-Committee would point out to members the value of some papers contained in it on early British antiquities; and especially one (reprinted from the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*) by Dr. Guest, Master of Gonville and Caius College. A paper, by a foreign correspondent, on "Ancient Gaulish Money," possesses peculiar interest, and opens a subject which deserves close attention.

The series of descriptions of inscribed stones is continued, and includes another instance of the presence of Oghamic letters upon the same block as the Latin inscription.

Mr. Clark's valuable papers upon the Earls and Earldom of Pembroke have been continued, but will probably be brought to a close in the next volume.

Genealogical papers will also be found in this

volume, compiled with great diligence and research ; and the series of Edward Lhwyd's letters has at length been completed.

Three supplementary publications accompany this volume, though not incorporated in it, viz.,—part of the *Survey of Gower* ; a portion of the documentary history of the Barony of Kemeys, in Pembrokeshire ; and a paper from the *Transactions* of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. The first and second of these subjects will be continued, so as to form separate volumes ; but it is recommended that the Cornish paper (we hope to receive many future papers from our friends in Cornwall) should form an appendix to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

Members, who have contributed to this volume, are requested to accept the best thanks of the Editorial Sub-Committee, and to continue their cooperation.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXV.—JANUARY, 1861.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PARISH OF PENMARK.

PENMARK, or Penmarch-Howel, is a Glamorganshire parish, formerly situate, says Lewis, in the Commote of Iscaeth and Cantreff of Brenhinol, but now in the Hundred of Dinas-Powis, diocese and archdeaconry of Llandaff, and rural deanery of Llandaff Lower. It is a vicarage standing in the King's books at £8:13:4, and stated in a diocesan report of 1809 to be, with tythes and glebe, worth £140:19:0. Under a later valuation the commuted vicarial tythe stands at £218:9:5. The Patrons are the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, who recently held the rectorial tythe, commuted at £360, and now, with about equal benefit to the interests of religion, transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Vicar has the Vicarage House and 110a. 2r. 26p. of glebe. The impropriators have 12a. 1r. 3p.

Of the earlier population of Penmark no statistics have been preserved. In 1801 it contained 421 persons; in 1811, 433; in 1821, 477; in 1831, 536: in 1841, 486; and in 1851, 495 persons. The houses which in 1831 were 101, in 1851 were 107. Penmark, therefore, has shared but little in the great increase in the population of its county.

Penmark contained anciently the vills or villages of Aberthaw, Bourton, Cwm, Fonmon, Font-y-gary, Nur-

ston, Penmark, Rhoos, and Treduchan. Of these, Bourton and Nurston consist at this time of three and two houses. The name of Cwm probably describes the three or four cottages in the valley below the vicarage. Treduchan, which in 1628 contained eight houses, is now represented by a farm-house and two cottages. The present villages are Aberthaw, Fonmon, Penmark, and Rhoos, a part of which is in Porthkerry.

This parish lies in the south-western corner of the Hundred, upon the sea, and its landward boundaries are St. Athan's, Llancarvan, Wenvoe, Merthyr-Dovan, Barry, and Porthkerry. It is about 4 miles long from east to west, by 2 miles broad from north to south, extreme dimensions. By the old parochial estimate it contained 2,953 acres; but its actual statute area, as taken from the population returns of 1851, is 3,235 acres, of which 212 are woodland, and the remainder about equally divided between arable land and pasture: 160 acres are water, including the shore between high and low water mark. There is no common land, and the parish appears always to have been enclosed. The sea-board, exclusive of Porthkerry, is 2,650 yards in length, wholly lias cliff. Its western limit is the Tawe river, where it shares in the small harbour of Aberthaw.

The surface of Penmark is undulatory, and though it contains no remarkable hills, its general level is from 80 to 150 feet above the sea, and it is intersected by several deep combes, opening chiefly upon the brook which, flowing from Wenvoe and Duffryn, receives a tributary from Llancarvan, and from that junction to the Tawe river, traversing an alluvial flat, bears the name of the Kenson.

The soil of Penmark is a strong loam, occasionally approaching to clay. It is but very moderately thick and rests upon lias limestone, here disposed in horizontal beds, which form the sea cliff and the floor of the shore.

Penmark has had, from time out of mind, a fair on 15th of April.

Among the entries in the Parish Act-book the following are not without interest:

In 1740, in the Church-rate Act, a bushel of lime cost 2s. 6d., its present price. For stoning a badger to death 2s. 8d. was given. A quart of wine was allowed for the Whitsun communion.¹

In 1742, notwithstanding the protest recorded in the note, the churchwardens pay 1s. for drink for raising the church ladder, which appears always to have been a thirsty operation. "Oyle" also is supplied for the bells. In this year John Harry is making a frame for "the paper that came from Bath," whatever this may be. The overseers charge 1s. for a "seam" of coal. The magistrates meetings at this time appear to have been held at "Llanistern," still remembered as the ordinary corruption of "Llaniltern."

In 1743, 3rd Nov., Evan Prichard, probably the coroner, gave a receipt for 13s. 4d., his fee for attending an inquest on the death of Henry David; also, 2s. was paid for ale at the mending of the highway.

In 1744, 6d. is given to a man who had been a slave, and 13s. 4d. towards building the White-house Bridge. 2d. is paid for the destruction of a hedgehog, and 1s. for that of a footberd (foumart). For the "setting" of Penmark Bridge 4d. is spent in ale, and 1s. is given to one supposed to have been a Turkish slave. 1745 was celebrated by a libation of 5s. worth of ale on passing the accounts.

In 1746 the church-wardens charged for a "barb

¹ Wine, however, was not the drink of the parish on less solemn occasions, as appears from the following entry:

"Be it remembered that at a vestry held the 9th day of May, 1740, we, the inhabitants of the parish of Penmark, have agreed that there shall be no ale drank in the parish accounts, at any time hereafter, by the surveyors of the highways, or by any other person concerned to mend the highways; as witness our hands the day, month, and year above mentioned.

John Walters
John Davies
John Thomas
William Jenkyn

John Robert
Edward Jay
Edward Jenkin
David Reynolds

Thos. Evan
Miles Spickett
William Williams
William David."

lode" for the church-yard, and 1s. 4d. for a "list" for the same. The death of a polecat cost the parish 4d.

In 1747 appears a charge of 2s. "for going to pay the woman for the care of Thomas Harry's head;" also, "for candles when the maid was out of her senses; for a quart of ale same time."

In 1748 Ellis H—— was paid for "ale to the ringers, by Mr. Newcome's order;" and Mr. Powell's huntsman had 4d. for killing a polecat.

In 1749 we read of the "Privi Sessions" at Llaniltern.

In 1753 Mr. Williams is paid for "fixing the dial on the post" (the shaft of the cross); and in 1755 several polecats atoned for their bad name at a reward of 4d. each.

In 1759 the parish found work and materials towards Burton Bridge; and in 1761 was a payment for making timber for the churchyard-gate. Jane David also had 6d. for carrying Elisa's child to be baptized. At this time 1s. is the usual fee paid by overseers to persons attending inquests.

In 1760 Francis Badger had 6s. for attending a militia meeting. And in 1761, 9s. was charged for the coffin of William Jenkins, a pauper, at whose funeral was a payment for ale. "Llaniltern" is again entered as "Llanistern," and the blood money of polecats has risen to 1s.

In 1767 it cost 17s. 6d. to send away "Jenet and wife, vagabonds."

The book also contains some particulars as to the relief of the poor, and other parish expenses. Thus, in 1739 the expenditure out of the poor-rate was £25; out of the church-rate, £8:6:9. In 1775, the poor-rate expenditure was, in the eastern division, £10:5:5. In the western, £12:6:10. Total, £22:12:3.

In 1775 the roads cost £41:10:7. And in 1783 there was spent in the eastern division: poor, £96:18:0; road, £13:16:9. Western division: poor, £63:11:3½; road, £13:2:11; but these latter sums include expenses for the church.

In 1797-8 the roads cost : eastern division, £9 : 10 : 5½; western division, £7 : 5 : 0.

In 1800 the vestry ordered that all persons employed on the roads should receive, if a single man, 6s. per week ; if with a wife and child, 7s. ; if with two children, 8s. ; if with three children, 9s. ; and it was decided that corn should be supplied to the poor of the parish at for wheat 28s., and for barley 18s. per *Llestriad* (2½ bushels), in the following quantities :—

Man and wife	. 1	pedoran of wheat,	1	pedoran, ¹	barley.
„ with one child	1½.....	„	. 1	„
„ two children	. 2	„	. 2
„ three children	2	„	. 3

The differences between these and the market rates were to be paid to the farmers out of the poor-rate.

In 1803 the parish-rates were 2s. 11d. in the pound, producing £309 : 15 : 3.

Under the new poor law Penmark is in the union of Cardiff, to which it sends one guardian. For rating purposes it is still divided into east and west, now thus assessed :—

County rate	{	Penmark East	. .	£2,664	}	£4,609
		Penmark West	. .	1,945	}	

This valuation was made by a committee in 1855. The poor-rate now averages 3s. 9d., but this includes county, county-road, and police-rates.

The parish-road-rate was formerly about 6d. in the pound, but since the Highway Act has been in force it has risen to 9d. on the rateable value. The church-rate is usually from 1d. to 2d.

The CHURCH is said, on the doubtful authority of Lewis's Dictionary, to be dedicated to St. Mark, and formerly to have boasted as a relic one of the many heads of that Evangelist. It stands in Penmark village, near the northern edge of the parish, and close to, if not within the enceinte of the ruined castle of the

¹ The *pedoran* is the Welsh bushel. The purchasers were not to exceed the named quantities.

Umfrevilles. It is of large size, handsome, has recently been restored in good taste, and is well kept. It is composed of a tower, nave, south porch, and chancel. On the south side are the steps of a cross, four sided, and in the churchyard are two old yew trees of considerable size.

The tower is square, lofty, and very substantial, being probably intended to support as much as to be supported by the castle. The plinth is of decorated date; there is a west door, and above it a window of three lights. These two detract from the military aspect of the tower, but are probably perpendicular insertions. The tower opens into the nave by a lofty perpendicular arch, and south of this arch a door leads from the nave into a well stair, contained within the thickness of the tower wall, and not visible from without.

The nave has a new north window of four lights, which replaced a square hole with a sash. The voussiors of a north door may be seen, but the filling up seems very old. There is also on this side a rood loft buttress, with a small cinquefoiled window.

The south door is plain and rather narrow. It has an equilateral arch of decorated aspect. Above, outside, is a vacant perpendicular shrine. East of this door is a new window of three lights, perpendicular, and after the old pattern. West of the door is an original early decorated window of two lights, with a quaterfoil in the head. The work is heavy but good. The arch into the chancel is pointed Norman, with a chevron moulding, and springs from rude corbels at the top of chamfered jambs. Towards the chancel the face is plain. The font is conoidal, with a cylindrical pillar and base, probably late Norman. The roof is coved and plastered.

The south porch is perpendicular.

The chancel has two north windows of unequal size, now closed up. The south wall was rebuilt about 1800. Its windows are new. The east window of three lights is new. The roof is coved and plastered.

The church contains monuments to various members

of the Jones, Kemeys, and Lewis families. The latter are against the chancel wall, and have recently been restored at the expense of Wyndham W. Lewis, Esq.¹

The communion plate is handsome. It bears the Lewis arms.

The list of patrons and incumbents is imperfect. Noah Neale Newcome was vicar in 1746-1751. Rowland Jay? appears to have been vicar, as was Henry Jones, between 1780 and 1794; he died about 1794. W. Sergroor, D.D., was inducted 12th April, 1795. Joseph Allen Small, D.D., was inducted 15th Dec., 1796; he exchanged with Dr. Casberd for a living in Somersetshire. John Thomas Casberd, LL.D., Pre-

¹ *Monuments in the church.*—Frances, daughter of Edward Kemeys of Kemeys, and widow of Oliver St. John of Highlight and Penmark, died 7 Oct. 1729, æt. 76. Ann, daughter of Edward Kemeys of Kemeys, died 2 Dec. 1671. Frances died 20 Aug. 1735; Mary died 24 Dec. 1753, æt. 82; daughters of William Kemeys of Kemeys. Oliver of Highlight and Penmark, son of William St. John of Highlight, died 8 May, 1728. Catherine, wife of William St. John, of Highlight, Esq., died 29 Oct. 1672. Christopher St. John, of Highlight, Esq., died 1616: erected by Oliver his youngest son, some time squire of the body to King James. James Matthew, of Roose, died 18 March, 1634: he married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Vann of Marcross; had John and William, died young, and Edward and William living 1634. Philip Jones died 5 Sept. 1674, æt. 56. Jane, his wife, died 23 Oct. 1678. Samuel, their eldest son, died 13 Jan. 1671. Sir John, son of Philip Jones, died 15 Oct., 1678. Oliver, son of Philip Jones, died 23 May, 1685, æt. 31. Sarah, wife of John Jones, died 16 July, 1675; and her two daughters, Susan and Sarah. Mary, wife of Oliver Jones, died 20 Oct. 1688. Robert Jones died 19 Dec. 1715, æt. 33. His wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Humphrey Edwin of Llanmihangel, died 20 Dec. 1756. Robert, their son, died 1742, æt. 36. Ann and Elizabeth their daughter. Robert Jones died June 1834. M. General Oliver Thos. Jones died Nov. 1815, æt. 39. Ann, daughter of Robert Jones, died an infant, May 1709. Philip, eldest son of Oliver Jones, died 3 Nov. 1686, æt. 5 years 6 months. Oliver, youngest son of Oliver Jones, died 27 April, 1701, æt. 17. Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Jones, died 12 Nov. 1672. Sir Thomas Lewis of Penmark died 19 Dec. 1669. Thos. Lewis died 1689; a true son of the Church of England, and a great example of virtue and piety. Catherine, widow of T. Lewis, died 1682. Rev. J. T. Casberd died 30 Oct. 1843, æt. 73. John R. Casberd, Rector of St. Athan's, died 30 June, 1843; Mary, his wife, daughter of R. Jones, died 10 Feb. 1847. Rev. Henry Jones, vicar, died 22 Dec. 1794, æt. 58. Deborah, wife of T. Foster, and daughter of Chr. Senior, died 26 August, 1788, æt. 27. They rented Fonmon.

bendary of Llandaff and of Wells, was inducted 15th Dec., 1799, and died 1843. Charles Fred. Bryan Wood is the present vicar.

The registers of baptism and burials commence in 1751, that of marriages in 1756. This is about twenty years later than the average of the registers of the Hundred.

Penmark formerly contained two chapels; one, said to have been in ruins since the great rebellion, is near to East Aberthaw village; it has a burial ground around it, in a field still called the Chapel-field, which adjoins the shore of the harbour of Aberthaw. This was probably intended for the use of the mariners of the adjacent port. The other chapel was at Rhoo, and is also thought to have had a burial ground. It is a short mile from Porthkerry church.

Of old buildings, the parish contains two castles and one manor-house; and near the church is the usual "church-house," with its external stone stair-case and upper room, now used as a school, and in which were held the court leets and the annual revels, till within the last fifteen years. The ground floor is composed of one or two tenements formerly used as alms houses, but now a vestry-room and the schoolmaster's house.

FONMON CASTLE was, no doubt, built by Sir John de St. John, one of the twelve knights, soon after the conquest of Glamorgan; and part of the present building is original.

The castle rises from the western edge of a narrow and deep ravine, which conveys a streamlet from Fonmon village into the Kenson.

On its north front, but at some little distance from the castle, a similar steep bank slopes down direct to the Kenson, which there traverses a meadow, which in earlier days was probably an impassible morass. On its west and south sides the castle stands on table land, and was covered, no doubt, by a moat and outer wall. The keep, a rectangular building 45 feet high, and 25 feet north and south, by 43 feet east and west, includ-

ing its walls, which are 5 feet thick, appears to be late Norman, and may be presumed to be Sir John de St. John's work. Additions, probably of early English and early decorated date, enclose it on the north, east, and partially on the south sides; on the latter forming a considerable wing, a part of which is a square tower which caps the south east angle, and is a principal feature in the general view of the building. Two bow towers of the same date project from the east front. The principal additions on the north are of the seventeenth century, and were erected without reference to defence.

The outworks, with the exception of one tower which stands alone on the south-eastern front, about 140 yards from the castle, long since gave way to stabling, barns, and formal terraced gardens, most of which have in their turn disappeared. The remaining tower seems to have been the south-eastern termination of the defences of the outer court.

The St. Johns resided, more or less, at Fonmon until towards the fourteenth century, when, by intermarriage with the heiresses of Paveley, Pawlet, and finally, of Beauchamp of Bletsoe, they became powerful English lords, and removed their headquarters into Bedfordshire. Fonmon was probably left to the care of a bailiff, though some cadets of the family settled at Highlight, and there remained after the sale of the property to Colonel Jones about 1655. Since that period it has been regularly inhabited by the Jones family, as it now is by their descendent and representative, Robert Oliver Jones, Esq.

The castle contains portraits of Cromwell and Ireton, and of Mr. Robert Jones, grandfather of the present proprietor, by Reynolds.

PENMARK CASTLE is about a mile east of Fonmon, and two, three, and four miles from the castles of East Orchard, Barry, and Wenvoe.

It was originally built by Sir Gilbert de Umfreville, one of the twelve knights, but the present ruins are scarcely older than the thirteenth century. It is pro-

bably of the reign of Henry III. or Edward I., with some trifling additions of later date; but it exhibits no traces either of a Norman keep or of any of the usual perpendicular or Tudor additions. It is, and has been for some centuries, a complete ruin.

The castle stands along the brow of a steep bank, about 100 feet above the meads of the Duffryn brook, which, with its marshy banks, formed an excellent defence on the Welsh front. It is composed of two courts.

The inner court was oblong, about 70 yards by 50, of irregular figure, with a curtain upon the north side along the edge of the bank, part of which, at each end, remains. On the south side the wall is gone, but its line is marked by its exterior moat which, extending from the bank at one end to that on the other, formed the defence on the east, west, and southern fronts.

At the eastern end the wall remains, about 10 feet high on the outside. Inside is a mass of earth, no doubt covering ruins. At the north-east angle a circular depression resembles the foundations of a tower.

The west end is most perfect. Here is a curtain about 12 feet high, the rampart walk of which remains, with traces of an open stair to the battlements. At the south end the wall returns square; and here was probably a plain gateway towards the church. At its north end the north-west angle of the court is capped by a tower semicircular to the field, but angular towards the court. It has two loops and a fire-place on the ground floor, and appended to it on the north side is a square building of two floors, containing a guardrobe in each floor. This is later than the tower. Also on the west wall, near the tower, is a hollow buttress containing two guardrobes. The tower opens into the court.

The outer court includes the inner one on the east, south, and west sides, terminating at each flank on the steep bank.

It contains the moat of the inner court, and was itself contained within a moat and wall, which probably included the church. Along the west face the wall

may be traced to its termination in a flanking tower, evidently built for a pigeon-house.

The position of the castle is bold and striking, and although a mere ruin, and without the usual accessories of ivy and trees, it has a fine appearance from the north.

In common with most of the strongholds of the district, it is reputed to have been ruined by Owain Glyndwr.

From the castle a road descends obliquely towards the mill, placed about half a mile up the stream.

West of the castle is a considerable table land, defended by two valleys on its north and west; an excellent place for a display of any cavalry that might be included in the garrison.

PENMARK PLACE is in part old. It stands within its own manor, and has from an early period, as Odyn's Fee, been a distinct property. It is placed between the castles of Fonmon and Penmark, above a defile now occupied by the Llancarvan road. The old house was dismantled, and its scanty remains were converted into a farmhouse, about sixty or seventy years ago, by the Tyntes. It contains some plain oak paneling; and the old parts of the wall are very thick. Near it is an outbuilding of Tudor date.

MANORS.

Penmark is divided between the manors of Fonmon, Odyn's Fee, and Penmark; which latter embraces also all Porthkerry. The parish contains, besides, a small tract not belonging to any of the three manors.

Fonmon includes the castle and about eleven hundred acres on the western side of the parish. When won by Sir John St. John, this manor was reputed as one knight's fee. It remained in the St. Johns' possession until about 1655, when the Earl of Bolingbroke sold it, with his other Welsh estates, to pay off encumbrances estimated at treble their value. Colonel Philip Jones, the purchaser, was of a well known Welsh family in Gower, and the head of one of the recognized lines of descent from the celebrated Caradoc Vraichvras. He was

an active and honest supporter of the Protector, and a member of his Council; and he added to his St. John purchases others from the Earl of Worcester, his title to which was duly recognized after the Restoration. His male descendants have ever since possessed and resided upon the property.

Odyn's Fee is a manor reputed to be so called from Sir Odo, son of Sir Peter le Sore of Peterston and St. Fagan's. It contains Penmark Place, and about six hundred and ten acres in the central part of the parish. The Le Sores gave off various heiresses, but the male line lasted till the reign of Edward III, when three daughters carried the estates to the De Veles of St. Fagans, the Lewises of Van, and the Wolfs of Wolfs-Newton. Probably Odyn's Fee was then sold to the Bawdripps, a family of Somersetshire descent, and so named from Bawdripp, or Broadrepp, near Bridgewater. They intermarried with the St. Johns, and perhaps settled here in consequence. The sixth descendant from this match, William Bawdripp, of Penmark Place, and Splot by Cardiff, having no issue, sold those properties, about 1615-16, to Sir Edward Lewis of Van, also the purchaser of the Raglan estate of Carnllywd in Llanearvan.

Edward Lewis, who was sheriff of Glamorgan in 1612, had seven children. Of these, Nicholas, the fourth, had Carnllwyd, lands in Penmark (probably under Jesus College, Oxon), and lands in Llanccadle. In 1645 he is returned as having £400 per ann. in land. In 1664 he was dead; but he had been paying to Fonmon a chief rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* for Penmark, and 1*s.* 5*d.* for Llanccadle. His brother, Sir Thomas Lewis, the fifth son, had Odyns Fee in Penmark, and lived at Penmark Place, paying for it 6*s.* 8*d.* to Fonmon as early as 1668.¹ He died 19 Dec., 1669, and left issue: 1, Thomas Lewis: 2, Edmund Lewis: 3, Katherine Lewis.

¹ Taylor, the Water Poet, who visited Glamorgan in 1652, writing at Llantrithyd in August, says: "In the meantime I rode two miles to the house of the ancient and honourable knight, Sir Thomas Lewis, Penmark; to whom, and his good lady, I hereby dedicate my interlude."

Edmund Lewis is mentioned as of Carnllwyd in Gwylim's *Heraldry*. He was heir to his uncle Nicholas, and in that capacity paid, 28 April, 1665, 6*s.* 8*d.* for Penmark, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for Llancadle. In 1668 he paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for Penmark, 1*s.* 5*d.* for Llancadle, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for Carnllwyd. In 1679 he disappears, having probably died. He is not known to have married; and his elder brother, Thomas, appears to have been his heir.

Thomas Lewis was of Penmark Place, and sheriff 1674 and 1689, in which year, 20-6 October, he died. In 1679 he paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for Odyns Fee, and had inherited his uncle's lands in Penmark and Llancarvan. According to some pedigrees he had a son Thomas, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Tregonwell: probably they died *s. p.*, for the property seems to have passed to Frances St. John, daughter of his sister Katherine. That sister, Katherine Lewis, married Edward Kemeys of Kemeys, and had issue: 1, William: 2, Ann: 3, Frances.

William left Frances and Mary; Ann died single; and Frances Kemeys, heir to her uncle, married Oliver, son of William, who was grandson of Christopher St. John, all of Highlight. Oliver died 1728, *s. p.*; but before 1712 he paid 6*s.* 8*d.* for Odyns Fee, 1*s.* 5*d.* for Llancadle, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for Carnllwyd; and no doubt held these properties till his death. Jesus College had probably resumed their land, as the Principal paid 6*s.* 8*d.* to Fonmon in 1712.

At Oliver St. John's death, the properties were again separated, Highlight and Penmark passing to his wife's nieces, Frances and Mary Kemeys, children of William Kemeys; and Carnllwyd, for some unknown reason, passing to the Aubreys, who still retain it.

In 1730, Mrs. Frances and Mrs. Mary Kemeys paid the 6*s.* 8*d.* for Odyns Fee. Both died single: Mrs. Frances in 1753; and they seem to have left the property to their distant kinsman, Sir Charles Kemeys Tynte, from whom it came to the present proprietor. Mrs. Frances Kemeys is the lady referred to in the following extract

from the will, dated 1758, of Mrs. Mary Jones, daughter of Robert Jones of Fonmon and Mary Edwin :

"I give and bequeath to my Lady Tynte my brilliant ring with one large diamond set round with small ones, and which was given me by Sir Charles Tynte in memory of Mrs. Kemeys. I also give her my green emerald ring set with two small diamonds, which was left me by Mrs. St. John of Penmark ; and I desire her ladyship will be pleased to accept of those rings in memory of her friends."

Sir Thomas Aubrey paid the Carnllwyd 3*s.* 6*d.* until 1742 ; and in 1744 it was paid by Miss Frances and Miss Margaret Aubrey. In 1750, the parties were Mrs. Gibson and Miss Aubrey ; in 1751, Mr. Gibson and Miss M. Aubrey ; and in 1753, Esquire Gibson and Miss Aubrey. In 1761 and 1767, the payment was made by Denham Jephson, probably an Aubrey trustee ; and in 1780 by Sir Thomas Aubrey.

In 1753, Lord Talbot paid 1*s.* 5*d.* for lands in Llan-cadle ; but whether this was the old Lewis property is uncertain.

It may be useful to observe that both the Lewises and the Tyntes were connected with the Aubreys. Edward Lewis, purchaser of Carnllwyd, is sometimes described as of Llanthrythid, the Aubrey seat ; and Mary Lewis, the heiress from whom the Aubreys derived their Oxford and Bucks property, married successively William, brother or uncle to Denham Jephson ; Sir John Aubrey ; Sir Charles Kemeys, of Cefn Mably, Bart. ; and fourthly, Dr. W. Aubrey of Oxford. She died finally without issue, in 1717.

The manor of Penmark includes the castle, and, in the three parishes, nearly two thousand two hundred acres. When originally won by Sir Gilbert Umfreville, it was rated at the service of two knights' fees ; but in the Survey of 1320, it is called four knights' fees.

The Umfrevilles appear to have been of the North-umbrian family, and, like most of the Norman settlers in Glamorgan, to have held property in the west of England. Their male line terminated in the reign of Edward II, in two coheirs ; of whom Alice married Sir

Simon Furneaux of Somerset, and had the Devon estates; and Elizabeth, the younger coheir, married Oliver St. John of Fonmon, whose descendents thus became lords of both manors. Eventually, on the death (childless) of Alice Blunt, granddaughter of Alice Umfreville, Lapford, co. Devon, seems to have reverted to Edward, a cadet of Oliver and Elizabeth St. John; and from him to have passed to his daughter and heir, who married Nicholas Arundel of Trerice.

In 1570, Penmark manor belonged to Lord St. John, who paid upon it ten marks of "ward-silver" to the lord of Cardiff. It went, with Fonmon, to Col. Jones, and has been sold by his descendents to various parties. The castle belongs to the Rev. William Rayer; and the Porthkerry and Wenvoe sections to the Messrs. Romilly.

Part of Rhoo's village stands in a large freehold dependent upon Penmark manor, and which was long the property, and occasionally the residence, of the family of Matthew of Aberaman, whose coheirs sold it to Sir Christopher Cole, who left it to his nephew, John Griffith Cole, of London, its present proprietor.

8 Edward II, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, died seized of four fees in Penmark; but in which manor is not stated. (*Inq., p. m.*, i, 265.)

The remaining part of Penmark parish, not included in the above manors, covers about ninety-five acres, and is called Blackton Bush. It lies encircled by Penmark manor, excepting on the north, where it is bounded by Moulton manor in Llancarvan. How this small tract has thus been preserved free, is not known.

PEDIGREES.

The St. John pedigree may be seen in any peerage, and need only be cited here as it relates to Fonmon. William de St. John was master of the artillery and baggage at Hastings, in token of which a pair of "horses' hames" were the family cognizance. John, his second son and successor, acquired Fonmon, and left Roger, whose first daughter and heir Muriel de St. John, married Reginald de Aureval, whose daughter

and heir, Mabel de Aureval, married Adam de Port, of Basing. Their child, William de Port, of Basing, assumed the name of St. John, in compliment to the rank and wealth of his grandmother. He had Fonmon, as had his son Robert, Constable of Porchester, 1261. Robert's eldest son was ancestor of the Basing St. John's, represented in the female line by the Pawlets; his second son, William St. John, had Fonmon, as had his son, Sir John St. John, and his grandson, Sir John, who, temp. Edward III., married Elizabeth Umfreville. They had Sir John, who married Elizabeth Paveley, of Bedfordshire, and had Sir Oliver, who married Elizabeth de la Bere, and was father of Sir John, who, still owning Fonmon, married a Pawlet heiress. Their son, Sir Oliver, was buried at Rouen, 1437. He married Margaret Beauchamp, heir of Bletsoe, and had Sir John, of Bletsoe and Fonmon, and Oliver, ancestor of the Viscounts Bolingbroke. Sir John left Sir John, who married Margaret daughter of Morgan ap Jenkyn ap Philip, and had: 1, Sir John: 2, Sir Oliver, of Shernbrook, Beds: 3, Alexander: and five daughters, of whom the fourth, Margaret, married Sir Rowland Gamage of Coyty. The eldest son, Sir John St. John, left Sir Oliver Lord St. John of Bletsoe, who died 1582, leaving eight children, of whom: 1, John, second Lord St. John, left a daughter only: 2, Oliver, third lord, who died 1618, and had Fonmon. He married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Sir John Read, of Gloucester, Knight, and had the following children, whose names appear in various Fonmon deeds:

1, Sir Oliver, fourth Lord St. John and Earl of Bolingbroke, who sold Fonmon. 2, John, died young. 3, Sir Anthony St. John, married a daughter of Dr. Aubrey, widow of Sir W. Herbert, and by her had Oliver (who died *s. p.*) and Dorothy, who married Booth of Cheshire.¹ 4, Sir Alexander St. John, who married — Masters. 5, Sir Rowland St. John, K.B., who married Sybel Vaughan of Hargest, and was ancestor of the St. Johns, Baronets, and Lords St. John of Bletsoe on the failure of the elder line. 6, Henry ob. *s. p.* 7, Dudley ob. *s. p.* 8, Sir Beauchamp St. John married the daughter and heiress of — Hawkins of Tylebrook, Beds. There were besides seven daughters.

In the armorial shield of the Earls of Bolingbroke four of the early quarterings shew the connexion with Glamorgan. They are: 3, Umfreville. *Or*, a fess between six cinquefoils

¹ This Sir Anthony had, at the time of the sale, a lease for his life and that of his son, of the Castle of Fonmon and the demesne, which he had underlet to one Humphrey Hurlestone.

gules. 4, De la Bere. *Azure*, a bend cotised between six martlets *gules.* 5, Turberville. *Ermine*, a fess compony *or* and *gules.* 6, Iestyn ap Gwrgan.

JONES OF FONMON.

Arms : Quarterly of four. 1, Jones. *Sable* a chevron between three spear-heads *argent*, embrued *gules.*

2. Vraichvras. *Argent* a griffin's head erased *sable*, armed *gules*, gripping a dexter hand couped at the wrist proper.

3. Gwys of Gwyston. *Gules* a chevron *ermine.*

4. Llewelyn Ychan. *Argent* a hart lodged proper tynd and hooped *or*, holding a branch of broom proper.

Crest : On a torse a dexter hand mailed *argent*, holding a spear *or*, pointed *argent.*

What follows is extracted from a long and handsomely emblazoned pedigree, by George Owen, York Herald, in 1654, still preserved at Fonmon, and commencing with Caradoc-Vraichvras.

From this it appears that the 17th in descent, David Johnes, married Elizabeth, daughter of William David, and had issue : 1, Col. Philip Jones : 2, Morgan Johnes, married Frances, daughter of John Prytherch of Hawkbrook, who bore "*gules*, three ravens *sable*": 3, Richard : 4, Jane : 5, Joan : 6, Alice.

18. Colonel Philip Jones, one of the Lord Protector's Privy Council, and purchaser of Fonmon. He married Jane, daughter of William Pryce of Gellihir, Esq., who bore "*gules*, three chevrons *argent*," and had issue :

1. Samuel *s. p.*

2. Philip *s. p.*

3. Sir John Jones of Fonmon, who, by his first wife, had two daughters who died infants. He married : 1, Sarah, daughter of Will. Dashwood, Esq. : 2, Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Bloodworth, Knight, who remarried Judge Jefferies.

4. Oliver, who succeeded.

5. Anne.

6. Elizabeth.

7. Priscilla, married William Bassett of Beaupré.

8. Jane.

9. Katherine.

19. Oliver Jones of Fonmon, succeeded his brother, Sir John. He married Mary, daughter of Martin Button of Duffryn St. Nicholas, died 20 Oct. 1688, and had : 1, Philip of Fonmon, who died a few months after his father : 2, Robert : 3, Oliver, died 1701, aged 17.

20. Robert Jones of Fonmon, M.P. for Glamorgan, who obtained a private Act (9 Ann, cap. 36), enabling him to grant leases for three lives, or ninety-nine years determinable on three lives, of certain Glamorgan manors, included in and limited by his marriage settlement. He married in 1703, Mary second daughter of Sir Humphrey Edwin of Llanvihangel, Knight, and had issue, besides an infant: 1, Robert of Fonmon: 2, Oliver, died unmarried, 1736: 3, Mary, will dated 1758: 4, Elizabeth: 5, Anne.

21. Robert Jones of Fonmon died 1742; married 1732, Mary, daughter of Richard Forrest of Minehead, and had issue: 1. Robert.

2. Mary, married William Thomas of Llanbradach, and died about 1781 *s. p.*

3. Catherine, married John Coglan, Esq.

4. Charlotte, married, 1, Thomas Ashby: 2, the Hon. Colonel Maude: 3, Charles Edwin of Dunraven; and died about 1820.

5. Diana, married Thomas Mathew of Llandaff.

22. Robert Jones of Fonmon, married, 1, Jane, daughter and heiress of Evan Seys of Boverton, Clerk, and had Mary and Jane: both died young. He remarried Joanna, daughter of Edmund Lloyd, Esq., of Cardiff, and had issue: 1, Robert of Fonmon, who died, unmarried, June 1834: 2, Oliver Thomas: 3, Philip, d. y.: 4, John, died about 1820, married Cordelia Ferguson, and had two daughters: 5, Mary, married John Thomas Casberd, D.C.L., Vicar of Penmark, Prebendary of Llandaff and Wells: 6, Diana, died 1810, married John Richards of Energlyn: 7, Charlotte, died, unmarried, 1840: 8, Anna, married F. Villebois, of Benham-Valence, Esq., and died 1840, *s. p.*

23. Oliver Thomas Jones, a Major-General in the army; born 8 Sept., 1776; died 15 Nov., 1815; married, 1, Louisa, daughter of Colonel Stanley. She died 1810, leaving: 1, Louisa, died unmarried: 2, Laura Ann, married Rev. Wm. Annesley, and has issue. General Jones married, 2, Maria Antonia, youngest daughter of Henry Swinburne, of Hamsterley, Esq., and had issue: 3, Robert Oliver: 4, Oliver John, Capt. R.N.; born 15 March, 1813: 5, Rosa Antonia, married the Rev. John Mountagu Cholmeley, who died 1860, leaving issue.

24. Robert Oliver Jones of Fonmon, born 16 Dec., 1811; Sheriff of Glamorgan, 1838; married, 1, Alicia, second daughter of Evan Thomas, of Llwyn Madoc, Esq., died 1 April, 1851, leaving issue: 1, Oliver Evan, born and died May 1844: 2, Oliver Henry, born 7th January, 1846: 3, Reginald Charles, born 17 Sept., 1848, died 12 Jan., 1854: 4, Edith Alicia, born

2 Nov., 1850. Mr. Jones married, 2, Sarah Elizabeth, third daughter of John Bruce Pryce, of Duffryn, Esq.

LE SORE, OF ODYN'S FEE.

Arms : Quarterly *or* and *gules*, in the first quarter two lions passant *azure*.

Sir Peter le Sore, one of the twelve knights of Glamorgan, had Peterston manor and castle, St. Fagans, and Kelligarn. He married Jane, daughter of Sir William le Fleming of St. George's. He seems to have been father of Odo, and possibly of Jordan le Sore, who was responsible to William Earl of Gloucester (*temp.* Henry II) for fifteen knights, and of Robert and William le Sore, who appear in the Register of Neath Abbey.

Odo le Sore is said to have given his name to Odyn's Fee in Penmark. He was father of Sir John le Sore, who had Sir Robert le Sore. The next recorded descendent is Sir Matthew or Mayo le Sore, Sheriff of Glamorgan under Despenser (20 Edward III), who is said to have quarrelled with David ap Gwillim, the bard, about the capacity of a drinking cup.

From him seems to have descended another Sir Matthew, said to have been besieged in Peterston by Owain Glyndwr, who, descending from an adjacent hill (since called Alt-Owain), took the castle, and beheaded Sir Matthew. He was probably the last male, as Peterston was soon after in the crown. He married Maud, daughter and coheir of Philip Huntley, and left Gwenllian, who married Sir William Wolf of Wolfs-Newton, and had issue male: Sarah, who married Howel ap Griffith, ancestor of Lewis of Van; and a third daughter, who married Peter de Vele, whose descendent, John Vele, had St. Fagan's (9 H. VI.)

The Le Sores were of Backwell, co. Somerset, and were allied to the Earls of Gloucester (3 Ed. I). Isabel le Sore had Backwell, as had William le Sore (47 H. VIII), when it was called Backwell-le-Sore.

Le Sore appears in the Wolf and Lewis quarterings: *or*, on a quarter *gules*, two lions passant *azure*; *or*, in some pedigrees, quarterly *or* and *gules*, in the first quarter a lion passant *azure*.¹

BAWDRIFF OF ODYN'S FEE.

Arms : a cross between four sheldrakes.

1. William Bawdrigg, Esq., married Elinor, daughter of Sir Oliver St. John, and had :

¹ Coll. Topog., iii, 73, v. 22; Inq. p. m., iv, 129; Hearne, *Liber Scacc.*; Collinson, *Somerset*, ii, 306; Excerpt., e. r. f., ii, 538; Lewis Dwnn, *Welsh Ped.*, I., 13.

2. Thomas of Odyn's Fee, Esq.; married Jane, daughter of John Raglan of Carnllwyd, Esq., and had: 1, Sir William: 2, Catherine, married, 1, John Van, Esq.; 2, Turberville: 3, Ann, married James Mathew of Rhooos.

3. Sir William Bawdripp, of Odyn's Fee, Knt., married Jane, daughter of Morgan Gamage of Coyty, and had: 1, Thomas: 2, Katherine, married David Kemeys of Cefn-Mably.

4. Thomas, married Mary, daughter of Christopher Mathew of Llandaff, Esq., and had:

5. William of Odyn's Fee, Esq., married Martha, daughter of Sir George Mathew of Radyr, Knt., and had: 1, William: 2, Elizabeth, married Christopher St. John, of Highlight, Esq.: 3, Ann, married — Strubrick from England.

6. William Bawdripp, Esq., ob. s. p., having sold Odyn's Fee and Splot to Edward Lewis. He married Katherine, daughter of George Van, of Marcross, Esq.

LEWIS OF PENMARK PLACE.

Arms: Sable, a lion rampant argent.

The purchaser of Odyn's Fee was Sir Edward, son and heir of Thomas Lewis of Van by his first wife, Margaret Gamage of Coyty Castle and Rogiet, aunt to Barbara Countess of Sydney, the heiress whose wooing forms so amusing a part of the Stradling Correspondence.

Sir Edward Lewis of Van was born 1559-60, and was executor of his father's will in 1593, being then thirty-four years old. In 1601 and 1612 he was Sheriff of Glamorgan. In May, 1603, he was Knighted at Theobalds [Progresses of James I]. In 13 James I, 1615-6, he purchased St. Fagan's and Penheved from William Herbert. He also purchased Penmark Place and Splott from William Bawdripp. He was also purchaser of Corntown, near Bridgend, recently sold by his descendent, and of Carn-Llwyd, a very curious Edwardian house, still standing in Llancarvan. His possessions are described by Rees Meyric to have been "Van, his chief dwelling house, with goodly demesne lands thereto belonging: the manor of St. Fagan's, wherein is a fair house, builded by Dr. Gibbon, with much demesne lands: the manors of Adensfield, Penmark, and Splott, part of the Lordship of Peterston-super-Ely: the manor of Carnllwyd: the manor of Roath-Keynsham, being part of Roath, given by the Lord of Glamorgan to Keynsham Abbey, and purchased after the Reformation; also Corntown manor, in Ogmores, within the Duchy of Lancaster, and held by knight's service under Ogmores Castle. Sir Edward

had also the manor-house of Radyr and the park and demesne lands." [*Rees Meyric*, by Sir T. Phillips, p 49].

Sir Edward married Blanch, elder daughter of Thomas Morgan of Machen and of the Middle Temple, and sister of Sir William Morgan of Machen and Tredegar, by Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Bodenham of Rotherwas. They had issue:

1. Sir Edward of Van, who married Lady Anne Sackville, Baroness Beauchamp, and had issue.

2. Sir William Lewis of Kilvach-Vargoed, in Gelligaer, whose descendent founded the Gelligaer Charity.

3. Nicholas, who had Carnllwyd.

4. Sir Thomas of Penmark.

5. Katherine Lewis, who was second wife to Sir Lewis Mansell of Margam, and had two daughters, of whom Blanch married Sir C. Kemeys of Cefn-Mably.

6. Margaret Lewis married Harry Rice of Dynevor, and was ancestress of that family.

Sir Thomas Lewis of Penmark Place, Knight, was Sheriff of Glamorgan 1628, and knighted at Whitehall 29th April. In 1645 he had £800 per annum. He died 19th Dec., 1669, and is buried at Penmark. He married Ann, daughter of Edmund Thomas of Wenvoe, and had issue: 1, Thomas: 2, Edmund: 3, Katherine, married Edward Kemeys. Thomas Lewis of Penmark Place was sheriff in 1674 and 1689. He died 20-6th Oct., 1689, at 59, and was buried and has a monument at Penmark. He married, 1, Katherine, daughter of Thomas Tregonwell of Anderston, county Dorset, ob. 18th Jan., 1682, and is buried at Penmark; and 2, Mary, daughter of Colonel John Jeaffreson of Dullingham, county Camb., and widow of Charles Brett. She remarried Richard Morgan of St. George's, co. Som., where she died 21 Dec., 1701, æt. 54. He appears to have survived his two children.

Edmund Lewis is entered for the order of the Royal Oak, as a royalist with £800 per annum. The politics of the family have been always strongly Tory. Gwillim mentions him as of Carnllwyd. He died *s. p.*

UMFREVILLE OF PENMARK CASTLE.

Arms: or a fess between three cinquefoils, gules.

The Umfreville pedigree, though that of the cadets of a great baronial family, cannot be clearly traced.

Dugdale gives many generations of Umfrevilles of Prudhoe, afterwards Earls of Angus, and who had possessions in Somerset and were evidently closely connected with the Penmark family,

who, no doubt, came from Devon and Somerset. The northern barons were: 1, Robert de Umfreville, then his son, 2, Gilbert, Lord of Ash, county Somerset, father of, 3, Robert of Prudhoe, father of, 4, Odonel of Prudhoe, who died 28 Henry III., leaving, 5, Robert of Prudhoe, father of, 6, Richard, who died 2 Henry III., leaving, 7, Gilbert, son and heir, who had livery of his father's lands at his death, and 17 Henry III., of half of those of Matthew de Torinton, as cousin and next heir. He died 29 Henry III., leaving behind him the reputation of "a famous baron, guardian, and chief flower of the north." By Maud, his wife, he had, 8, Gilbert of Prudhoe, of age 43 Henry III., when he paid £11 12s. for livery of 5½ fees in Torinton. He died *s. p.*, leaving his brother and heir, Robert, aged 30, who became Earl of Angus, and Thomas, of whom nothing is known [Dug., I. 504].

Contemporary with these barons were several knights and squires of their name in Devon and South Wales. Sir William Umfreville, who died, *s. p.*, 1211, possessed Haccombe and Up-hay. He married Alice, who remarried Edmond Pyne, having those two manors for her dower. *Temp.* Ed. III. was Sir Gilbert Umfreville, of Down-Umfraville, father of Sir William of Down and Comb-Pyne, who had issue another Sir William of Comb-Pyne.

Collateral with these was Henry de Umfreville, who had Lapford in the Honour of Torinton, and five fees in Bideford (12 John), and who was father of Sir Henry, who died *s. p.*, and Sir John, who had Lapford (*temp.* Ed. I) and one-fifth of Torinton: *j ux.*

He married the fifth daughter and coheir of Matthew and Amicia de Torinton, and with her had Penmark and Lapford. They had issue Alice, who married Sir Simon Furneaux, and had Lapford; and Elizabeth, who married Oliver St. John of Fonmon, and whose heirs, on the failure of the elder branch, also had Lapford.

Of the connexion between the Somerset and Devon and the Glamorgan families, there can be no doubt; and as little of their connexion with the Earls of Angus, who, as is shewn, had property in Somerset, and shared in the Torinton estates.

The Devon family bore, *gules*, a cinquefoil within an orle of crosslets *or*; that of Glamorgan, *or*, a fess between three cinquefoils *gules*; and the Earls of Angus, *gules*, a cinquefoil pierced between eight cross crosslets *or*. (*Coll. Som.*, iii, 1213; Rees Meyric, 40; Pole's *Devon*, *passim*.)

G. T. C.
R. O. J.

ON SOME OLD FAMILIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LAMPETER, CARDIGANSHIRE.

No. III.

(Continued from Vol. VI., p. 280.)

PETERWELL.



Peterwell House.

WE now leave Maesyfelin and its fortunes, and direct our steps to Ffynnonbedr, or Peterwell, on the banks of the Teifi. It has been seen in the genealogy of Llanllyr, as given by Dwnn, and cited in a former part of our paper, that, among the descendants of Cadifor in the sixth generation, there is a Gwilym Lloyd. It was he, probably, that built the first mansion at Castell Hywel. We may observe also, in passing, that he was the first of Cadifor's descendants who assumed the cognomen of *Lloyd*, and that he lived in the time of Edward II. The eldest son of Gwilym Lloyd was named Llewelyn, and his second son was called Lewis. The second son was brought up to the priesthood; and in course of time was appointed Vicar of Llangammarch, co. Brecknock. The exact date of his institution to the benefice is not known; but it was before the year 1410 (*temp.* Henry IV), from which time the records are regularly kept. Sir Lewis, the Vicar of Llangammarch, did not restrict himself within the rules and traditions of the Church in his day; for he had children, and became the founder of a family. Between him and the period when the pedigree, which we have seen, of the family becomes intelligible, there were several

generations in which we see the names *Ieuan Teg*, *David Ieuan Philip* and *Ieuan Coch o'r Dolau Gwyrddon*, who is said to have married a sister of *David ap Ieuan* of Ciliau.

It is, then, with David Evans, Esq., of Llechwedd Deri, in the parish of Llanwnnen, who served the office of High Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1641, that the history of the Peterwell family may most properly be said to commence. It was he that bought the land at Peterwell, and built the first fabric there. David Evans, Esq., was the son of the Ieuan Coch o'r Dolau Gwyrddon above mentioned. He married Mary the daughter of John Lloyd Jenkin, of Blaenhiroth in the parish of Llangennech, co. Carmarthen. John Lloyd Jenkin was the second son of Jenkin Lloyd David, of Gilfachwen, co. Cardigan. David Evans had four sons and two daughters: Thomas, John, Eleanor, Sarah, Rees, and Erasmus.

Thomas Evans succeeded his father at Peterwell. Of him we shall have more to say by and by.

John Evans settled at Trefent, near St. Clear's, co. Caermarthen, and was High Sheriff¹ of that county in the year 1688.

Eleanor married Lewis Lloyd, Esq., of Llangennech, Sheriff of Caermarthenshire for 1654.

Sarah became the wife of Daniel Lloyd, Esq., third son of Rees Lloyd, Esq., of Laques, co. Caermarthen.²

Rees Evans, the pedigrees tell us, married a daughter of Francis Lloyd, Esq., of Llanstephan.

Erasmus Evans was, we believe, for some time vicar of his native parish, Lampeter,³ whence he removed upon accepting the living of Burton in Pembrokeshire.

We have seen that the family of Maesyfelin were zealous royalists: the Evanses of Peterwell, on the other hand, were warm on the Parliamentary side. Thomas Evans took a very active part in the politics of those troublous times. Whatever share he may have borne in the earlier struggles for power in this unhappy contest, we are informed, on good authority, that he was captain of a body of cavalry under the *Committee*

¹ We *infer* this from comparing the lists of sheriffs with the pedigrees. The date of the shrievalty (1688) may, perhaps, be considered late.

² Dolan Gwyrddon, a farm near the Peterwell demesne, was till comparatively lately the property of the Laques family.

³ The Vicars of Lampeter, since the appointment of Erasmus Evans, are the following: 1662, Erasmus Evans, M.A.; 1668, Richard Powell; 1695, Erasmus Lewes, B.A., Jesus College, Oxon; 1745, John Phillips; 1767, Thos. Davies; 1777, John Lewes Phillips, M.A.; 1795, William Williams; 1805, Eliezer Williams, M.A.; 1820, John Williams, M.A., Archdeacon of Cardigan; 1833, Llewelyn Lewellin, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St. David's, and Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter.

of Safety. The writer whom we have already quoted in the history of Sir Francis Lloyd, has also a sketch of the Cromwellite hero of Peterwell, and he is painted in colours rather the reverse of complimentary :

"Thomas Evans, passionately violent in anything,—first a covenanter, then an eager advocate for the negative oath; afterwards most impetuous against a single person, especially the Family of his now Majestie; an active captain of horse, and his son David of foote, under the late Committee of Safety; passing an oath upon others for their fidelity to the said Committee; endeavouring to incite men, about the beginning of April last, to take arms against General Monke; impatient without an office, and tyrannical in it."

There is a tradition that Thomas Evans and his son were employed by Cromwell as *agents* in these parts (whatever that may mean), and that they thus amassed considerable wealth. I suspect myself that Thomas Evans was one of the Commissioners for the *propagation of the Gospel in Wales*, or employed by them. It is well known that this Ecclesiastical Commission had the management of a large amount of church property, and that its proceedings did not give entire satisfaction.¹

Thomas Evans married Elizabeth, the daughter of Ieuan Gwyn Fychan,² of Moelifor, co. Cardigan. He served the office of sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1653.

David Evans, the son of Thomas Evans, who, like his father, took part in the Rebellion, was captain of a body of infantry under the Committee of Safety, as has been seen by the sketch given above of his father. He married Jane, daughter of William Herbert, Esq., of Hafod Ychdryd. The mother of this lady was sister to the wife of Jonathan Lloyd, Esq., of Llanfair Clydogau, and to Sir John Vaughan, of Crosswood, the Great Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. David Evans must have died a young man. We do not meet with his name after his father's time. We see the names of two sisters of his in the pedigrees—Anne, wife of Richard Vaughan, of Tywyn, and Elizabeth, wife of Ieuan Gwyn of Moelifor. Another sister, whose name we have not been able to ascertain, married Evan Fleming, of Llwyn Ifan, co. Pembroke.

The next link in our chain is Daniel Evans, the son, or perhaps brother,³ of David Evans. This gentleman married Mary,

¹ Since writing the above, we have seen the names of the Commissioners (Scobell's *Arts and Ordinances*). Thos. Evans is not among them. But Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*) mentions a Thos. Evans as having some jurisdiction over the counties of Cardigan and Radnor in matters ecclesiastical. Was he *our* Thos. Evans?

² The Gwyns of Moelifor, one of the oldest Cardiganshire families, are now represented by the Saunders-Davieses of Pentre, co. Pembroke.

³ It is frequently difficult to make out the relationship of the diffe-

daughter of Morgan Herbert, Esq., of Hafod. The fruit of the marriage of Daniel Evans and Mary Herbert consisted of six daughters: 1 Lætitia, 2 Mary, 3 Jane, 4 Elizabeth, 5 Rebecca, 6 Sarah.

Lætitia Evans was never married. The parish Register of Lampeter chronicles her burial under the name of "Madam Lætitia Evans of Peterwell," on the 6th January, 1756. The portion of the estate that came to her share as co-heiress, is known as "Stat Madam Let." It is now part of the Deri Ormond property, and comprises houses in the town of Lampeter, and certain fields belonging to them known as the *Nag's Head* fields.

Of Mary, the second daughter, we have no information, except that which may be gathered from some *Englynion*, which we shall quote by and by. From these it would appear that she settled in the neighbourhood of the Tawe river—"i lan Tawe lwyni tewion."

Jane became the wife of one Captain Cooper.

Elizabeth married Walter Lloyd, Esq., of Foelallt and Llanfair Clydogau. Of this union more will be said before we finish.

Rebecca married into the family of the Popkins, of Fforest, co. Glamorgan.

Sarah became the wife of Marmaduke Gwynne, Esq., of Garth, co. Brecknock.¹

These ladies, as we have already intimated, became the subject of the Muse. The late Dd. Davis, of Castell Hywel, thus celebrates them:—

"E gwnnwyd gwragedd gwynion—a màmau
Gwych yma i Farchogion;
Ni fagwyd pendefigion
Sy' o'u hail y wael oes hon.

Stepnaid a Gwynniaid eginant,—Llwydiaid
Bopkiniaid, pawb cwnnant
O'th winwydd per, a thannant
Trwy'r dehau'n ganghennau gânt.

rent names in the pedigrees. Sir Thomas Phillipps, we believe, makes Dd. Evans and Dd. Evans to be brothers. This view is strengthened by a side-note in the MS. to the effect that Mary, daughter and *heir* of Dd. Evans, married Thos. Lloyd, of Grove, co. Pembroke; while the relationship of their wives—aunt and niece—goes against it.

¹ Sarah, a daughter of Marmaduke Gwynne and Sarah Evans, became the wife of the Rev. C. Wesley, brother of the founder of Methodism. (See Wesley's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 125.) The Rev. Dr. Wesley, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, St. James's, was a grandson of Charles Wesley. The Wesleys were frequent visitors at Garth; and we see the name of Marmaduke Gwynne in the early councils of Methodism.

O'th ferch wên a aeth i Fryeheiniog—'n blaid
 Mae in' Wynniaid mwyn enwog ;
 Ym mhob parth i'r Garth rhy'r gôg
 Dda hylwydd glod ddihalog.

I lan Tawe, lwyni tewion—ai'r ail
 I'r hoywiwys goed irion
 Yn gannoedd glandeg union
 A fwyn dyf ar fin y dôn.

O'th ferch Llangennech llon gwnnai—wiwgamp
 Farchogion i Stepnai ;
 Y rhai'n fwyn Sior anfonai
 I lysoedd pell, pwy gwell gai ?

Llwyddiant, gogoniant, a gwiw gynnydd—bri
 Ein bro fu'r bedwerydd ;
 Ac o hon y doi gwynwydd
 O gu dwf llygaidd y dydd."

Daniel Evans, the last of the Evanses of Peterwell in the male line, died in 1696 at the age of forty-nine. It is said that he rebuilt the mansion at Peterwell. He served the office of Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1691. We are glad to notice his name as one of the patrons and supporters of Edward Lhwyd in bringing out the *Archæologia Britannica*.

The Bard of Castell Hywel was wrong in thinking that one of the daughters of the house of Peterwell married a Stepney. The widow of Daniel Evans married secondly John Lloyd, Esq., of Llangennech, who after his marriage resided at Peterwell, and several children were born to him there. A daughter of his, Eleanor, married Sir John Stepney, the fifth baronet of that name. She died in 1733, and was buried at Llangennech, where the following inscription to her memory may be seen :—

"Near this place resteth the body of Mrs. Eleanor Stepney, wife of John Stepney, Esq., and daughter of John Lloyd, of Llangennech, Esq. She was a most obliging, endearing wife ; a most tender but prudent mother ; happy in all valuable endowments, religious and moral ; constant in her devotions to God, ever sincere to her friend, charitable to the poor, just and benevolent to all ; a pattern truly worthy the imitation of her sex. In her husband's affectionate esteem she still lives ; and as an instance of that esteem, this monument is erected to her memory. She died January 3rd, 1733, aged 32 years."

John Lloyd served the office of Sheriff for Cardiganshire in 1706, and for Caermarthenshire in 1697.

We close this portion of our paper by putting before the reader the following inscription in memory of Daniel Evans, which may be seen on a plain black slab in the chancel of Lampeter church :

"From the high tower of empyræal sky,
 From the bright mansions of æternity,
 Where primitive joy unmix'd with grief remains,
 And quiet undisturbed with trouble reigns,

His generous spirit views his place of birth,
 And with a friendly glance surveys the earth.
 Weak element, dull clay, oh ! tell us how,
 Hadst thou him then, why hast thou lost him now ?
 Much does the rich lament him, much the poor ;
 Much his friends honour him, but his country more.
 More I dare say if mankind could bee thought
 To square their actions near with what they ought.
 In him noe vertue could itself prefer,
 Equally great in every character :
 Prudent, ingenious, affable, and just ;
 True to his friend, and active to his trust.
 And now, most mighty God, whose providence
 Did, mawgre our fond wishes, take him hence,
 Out of thy good and plentyous stores supply
 Our common loss on his posterity.
 In numerous blessings let thy love descend ;
 Bee thou to them a father and a friend."

And round the sides of the slab :

" D . O . M . S . Rel : Super est Q : D : A : Quod : mortale : fuit : V : spp :
 Daniel : Evans : De : Peterwell : Arm : Hic : inhumatum : jacet : xxii. Die :
 Augusti : AD : MDCXCVI : Annum : Agens : XLIX. ex hac : nocte : Migr. in :
 lucem : Hoc : Mem : Meritiis : conjugis : M : F : C : Maria : Ejus. Ex. Qua.
 vi. Filias."

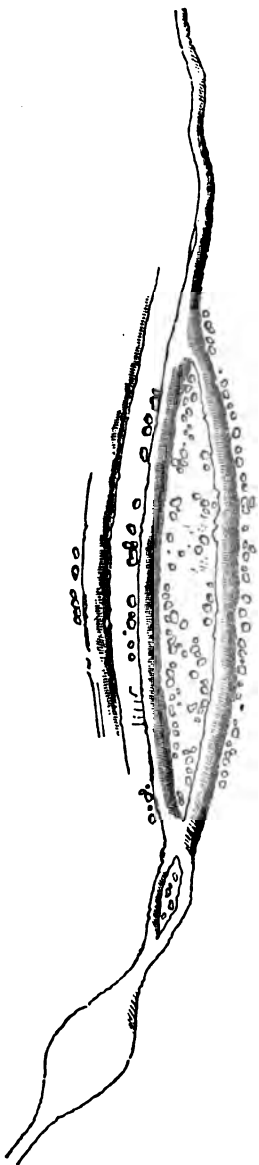
Lampeter.

WM. EDMUNDS.

EARLY EARTHWORK NEAR RUABON.

THIS work, of which an engraving is given, is situated on a mountain about three miles from Ruabon on the east, and Llangollen on the west. I have not seen it noticed in any work on archaeological subjects, and therefore now bring it to the attention of members. In the Ordnance map there is a faint trace of it, but altogether out of proportion, and confused with the road which is near, so as to give the idea of not being referable to anything else but that road, especially as no old letters are used. The name given in the map to the mountain is Cefn-y-Fedw ; but the part where this object is, which is near the summit, is called by the peasants Cefn Bank—an Anglicism ; and neither designation has any significance. The size, structure, and *position*,—meaning its *slope*,—of the thing preclude the idea of its having been made for any such purpose, as gathering sheep, or other such like use: the circum-

stance of its not being at all artificially levelled, but following the exact natural slope of the mountain, makes another unusual feature. The ditch, which may be called, perhaps, deep, is about seven feet perpendicular, judging by a tall man standing in the middle; the sides, even where stoned, have of course become much less steep by lapse of ages. The locality is peculiarly dry, precluding all idea of water scooping such a thing: as to which, indeed, the whole appearance is opposed, even to impossibility. At a distance, and where the shape is fore-shortened, there is an effect as of a slight going in on one side, and going out on the other, and these indentations are opposite to each other; but, on standing in or near it, these variations cannot be fixed,—they vanish in the irregular lengthy shape of the thing. The structure of the walls, which, it must be observed, nowhere stand up out of the earth, is such as we are accustomed to see in most of those pointed out to us as ancient British, formed of round, or, as we say, shapeless stones, varying in size, and such as are still to be seen naturally lying scattered about among the surrounding grig; but that plant being, at this spot, of very luxuriant growth, these scattered stones do not show at a distance, which makes these walls more conspicuous, as exhibited in the plan here given. It now remains, then, to fix a pur-



pose for which this enclosure was intended—warlike, religious, sepulchral, or other—(an intelligent resident in its vicinity refers it to the last), and at all events to give it its place among ancient existing remains; or lastly (but which I put entirely out of the question), to settle that it is not among such at all, and if so, what else it can, or even could be. It has struck me in reference to the name “Cefn-y-Fedw” (bedw), the “birch,” this name being inappropriate to the locality, where there is no birch at all,—nor, indeed, twig of aught but grig; and bearing in mind the great local appropriateness of Welsh names in most instances; that this “bedw” may, perhaps, be a corruption of “beddau,” “graves,” thus favouring the sepulchral hypothesis. But all this ought to be investigated.

A. E. MARSHALL.

Pen-y-Gardden, Ruabon.

GWYNNE LETTERS.

COL. JOHN LLOYD, to whom the Gwynne Letters are addressed, I am inclined to think is the same person that is mentioned in the Cambrian Register, Vol. I., page 164, as being “a person constant to his principles, and resolute in his undertakings, when he apprehended justice or honour to be concerned; he bore arms under the Earl of Essex for King and Parliament, and when that pretence was laid aside, he refused, though tendered, to bear any office, civil or military, under the various governments that sprung afterwards.” Probably William Gwyn is one and the same individual referred to in the same volume and page as “a royalist *ab initio* personally engaged in arms for that cause, refused,

though offered publique employments in the subsequent governments, but capable of any in respect of his interest and intellectuals." The writer of the article does not speak so favourably of Nicholas Williams, of Edwinsford, who is described as "neither of wit nor will to bear publique offices, and upon that account hath been luckily permitted (though rich) to escape sequestration." Several staunch adherents to the royal cause saved the fine exacted from (as they were called) the delinquents, though well able to pay. The following is a list of those who compounded for their estates in Carmarthenshire, with the amount each paid:—Sir Francis Lloyd, of Caermarthen, Knight, £1,033; John Lloyd, of Llangendeirne, £570; Henry Middleton, of Llanarthney, Gent. £120; Morgan Owen, of Glasallt, in Mothvey, late Bishop of Llandaff, per Morgan Owen, his son, with £50 per annum settled, £8: 15: Sir Rice Rudd, of Aberglasney, Bart., with £50 per annum settled, £80; Sir George Vaughan, of Penbrey, £2,609; John Vaughan, of Llanelly, £227: 13: 4; William Williams, of Mothvey, £102.

Howel Gwynne, the writer of these letters, served the office of High Sheriff for the county of Brecknock for the years 1644 and 1645. He married his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Rev. Herbert Jones, of Llangattock-juxta-Usk, in Monmouthshire, fourth son of Sir Thomas Jones, Knight, of Abermarlais, County Carmarthen. Her mother was Susan, daughter of John Jones, Registrar of Gloucester.

Rowland Gwynne, son of the above Howel Gwynne, married Ann, daughter of Humphrey Wyndham, of Dunraven, Esq. Rowland Gwynne was appointed Sheriff of Carmarthenshire for the year 1660, but was put out on the restoration of King Charles II. This was probably an act of favour shown him by his Sovereign in consequence of his father's attachment to the cause of Charles I; for it was in those days considered a very heavy tax on a country squire to serve the office of High Sheriff; for he was expected to have a

great number of javelin men, according to his ability, and supposed to entertain all who attended the Great Sessions. To remedy this it was enacted by 13th and 14th Charles II., c. 21, that no Sheriff, except of London and Westmorland, and towns which were counties of themselves, should keep any table at the Assizes, save for his own family, or give any present to the judges or their servants, or have more than forty men in livery; yet for the sake of safety and decency he was not to have less than twenty men in England, and twelve in Wales, under a penalty of £200. I am glad to find most of the Sheriffs in Wales adhering to this rule rather than take advantage of a recent Act of Parliament to avail themselves of the services of the police.

Pennant, in his account of the parishes of Holywell and Whiteford, gives a list of the presents two of his ancestors, who were Sheriffs of Flintshire, received for the Sessions, which shows the necessity for the Statute.

Rowland Gwynne, for the same reason as he was excused from serving the office of High Sheriff, was considered fit and qualified to be made a Knight of the Royal Oak in 1660. The Glanbrane Estate was valued in that year at £850 per annum. The following, in addition to Rowland Gwynne, were made Knights of the Royal Oak in the County of Caermarthen, and the value of their estates is set opposite to their names:—
— Vaughan, Esq., £1,000; Philip Vaughan, Esq., £600; Henry Mansell, Esq., £700; Charles Vaughan, Esq., £800; William Gwynne, Esq., of Cynghordy, £600; Nicholas Williams, Esq., Rhydodin, £1,000; Richard Gwynne, Esq., of Taliaries, £700.

The Knights were to wear a silver medal,¹ with a device of the King in the oak suspended to a ribbon, but it was thought prudent not to open old wounds which had been nearly healed, and the idea was in consequence abandoned.

¹ See Parry's *Royal Visits and Progresses to Wales*.

The Gwynnes of Cynghordy are extinct in the male line; but Henry Vaughan, Esq., of Penymaes, county Brecon; John Williams Vaughan, Esq., Velinnewydd House, county Brecon, and of Skreen, county Radnor; and Henry Gwynne Vaughan, Esq., of Cynghordy, county Caermarthen, and of Esgair-Vaughan, county Brecon, are maternally descended from that family.

The original Letters are in my possession.

JOSEPH JOSEPH.

Brecon, November 1st, 1860.

HONORED S^r,

I have sent the bonde that Carberis frends sealed vnto mee by my cosen, O. Price and hee will deliuer you all I can saye to the (chury¹) &ci.; S^r I desire you to stand my frend as ever you did: not else, but that I am,

Cosen y^r servant,

14th June 49.

H. GWYNNE.

Cosen Norice an oure beefore the writig of this letter, W^m Gwyn of Kinghordee, and his wiffe, sent 4 troops into my house, to tell mee that I had taken awaye the water from of theyre grounde, the w^{ch} is false in ev'ry particular: you knowe that I had granted you the water, & they had it: beecause you toulde mee that Coll. J. J. woulde haue it soe. S^r the troops & my selfe did att last parte fayrly &ci., and I bid them tell the gentelwooman, that beefore an oure went aboute I woulde breake the water course &ci., and that shee was the cause of it &ci., lett her thanke her selfe &ci. Cosen lett my cosen J. N. delay the makinge of the adward till michaellmas, the resone I will tell you when I see you: bvrton hath granted an order to take my house in towne awaye, as they saye, therefore lett Sam Prichard² bringe all my writings from London; for feare they miscarry &ci. I bringe the ordinance for payinge of teythes downe; for thes yere none; the earle shall neiver enioye the churches: for I will take them, or some frend of mine from the comittees; for, Owen Owens had noe write to them you knowe &ci., the land in Kidwely & the Lordship is goinge awaye from the earle: by a former grante paste by Kinge to agent whoe shalbee naimless till I see you; and it is confirmed by an Act of Parliament, it is a grante past longe beefore Carbereys; bee privat in this, and all the land of S^r R. Vppor his attaint &ci., noe more till I see you.

I had almost forgott the marke.

¹ Query, jury or surety.

² Query, son of Vicar Prichard of Llandovery.

I p'mised to put to my letters, If you bee oute of towne this is directed to my brother, J. J., and hee is desired to effect it, by his brother & servant.

H. G.

Glanbrane the 19th of June 49.

Capten Boultons troope q^{tr} in this hundred of Tyboeth, and take 36s. 6d. a daye ev'y man of them towards theyr q^{ue}, gett an order for restitution; & to remove theyr q^{ue} &c., (verte) gett an order from the generall; or aniniunctione¹ from chanceary to keep the possion till I bee evicted by due course of Lawe: the governor sent to the churches to gether woole, but I did keep it, for all his hast &ci. bringe me downe a good felt, & a good belt: my service to all my frends, cosen they faythfull.

H. GWYNN.

GOOD COZEN,

I pray you Paye vnto Samuell Prichard the xx^{li} thate due vppon your bond since Michaellmas Last, hee hath especiall occatons for them to my vse for which this shalbe yo^r dischargde. I am very glade that my Cozen yo^r bedfellewe vnto whome I pray p'sent my service is safly deliv'ed of Aboye thies wth my Love & service to you I Remaine,

Cozen yo^r servant,

Ho. GWYNNE.

Glanbrane the 18th of 9thber² 1650.

(*in dorso*).

To my honoured Cozen Collenell³ John Lloyd *This*.
£20 paid to Sam Prichard.

MY EV' HONORED COSEN,

You euer weer my frende, and yo^a knowe verely well, y^t my enemy will traduce mee in the worse maner he can. . both to the Judges; and to the jury; and in all places came; I have none but y^r selfe to stand my frend & Jwry wilbee of Middelsex, & Westminster, wher yo^a verely well knowne; they have brought vp with will swer (y^t there is noe God), and yt is well know(n) whole countrey; yt they are such; and Selby, ha most men yet converse with him; that ther is neyther hell; and yt the soule & body dey together; they lived men; as it wilbee mayde appeer in its due time Cosen, I beesech you haue a care of y^r opp^{ed} kinsman; and doe what leyes in y^r power, or in any frende of y^a, and besides, I hope when yo^a see it convenient, yt yo^a will take yo^r oulde seate &ci., and then I hope wee shall haue

¹ An injunction.

² September.

³ Colonel.

honest and Indiferent men sheerives, and justices &c., and if you will not in time loocke to this county it wilbee soe ouer borne; & in yt nature, yt noe gentleman of antiquitye, or any other, y its not of theyr side yt shalbee able to liue in this County; a word eis enyough to the wise &ci. Cosen my liffe is at stacke; for my liffe is my honor &ci.; and for God sake loock vnto it, as yoⁿ tender the good of mee & mine; therefore loock to it; for you will loose a frende, and a faythfull Kinsman (if I bee ouer throwne); I am verey confident of y^r best assistance; I haue not else, but my service to y^r lady desiringe God to bless you, and all y^r, I rest,

Y^r opp^sd Cosen & Servant,

Ho. GWYNNE.

Glanbrane the 3rd of Maye 52.

My wiffe p^sete her service to y^r Lady though vnacquanted & to yourselfe.

(*in dorso*).

To my honored Cosen Coll. John Lloyd p^sent *theese*. London.

Cosen, had it not beene yt yⁿ weer expected att the forest, I had beene with yoⁿ, but nowe haue sent my sonne, to lett yoⁿ vnderstand my condition, and his, all wth I refere to yoⁿ, and you must bee the man yt must helpe us; else wee are both lost; and my selfe, wthoute all helpe, if yoⁿ helpe not. S^r noe man euer was in such a strayght, as I am att the p^sent for the want of 500*li*. I hope yoⁿ will helpe my sonne to a good match; hee I will leaue to y^r dispose; for I knowe yoⁿ are honest (and a man of honor). I wilbee wth you wthin the comepose of 13 days; for I must put my debte into one hand; and I have noe other but y^rselfe that cann helpe mee. S^r this is my condition; if you doe not helpe mee, I am vndone; my service to y^r good lady. I rest,

Y^r troubled Cosen & Servant,

Ho. GWYNNE.

Glanbrane the 20th of Maye 53.

(*in dorso*).

To my honored Cosen Coll. John Lloyd, att Okin¹ in Surrey, p^sent *theese*.

Cosen,

The Judges in the Courte order, yt the records shoulde bee brought vnto them, this afternoon; and they shall not (I meane the records) bee had, if they shall not have 20*li*.; they had for search alredey 16*li*., my councell must bee ther; and they will haue theyr fees; and I am oute aboue 60*li*. beetwixt them since I cam to towne;

¹ Woking?

theedaye is Monday next, for determininge of the busness; my even-
ing is verely busy &c.; therfor good Cossen spare mee what you cann,
p' berer, and I will God willinge repay yo^a, ere I goe out of towne;
truly all I haue is att stake; and if you helpe mee not, I am lost;
the clerks saye plainly they will have 30*li*. more; but I hope 20*li*.
will searue theyr turne; you see my condition; I rest,

Y^m.

Ho. GWYNNE.

June 26th att 12 of the clock.

I must haue the records by 4 with the Judges.
I receued 20*li*. by the berer, w^{ch} I thanke you for.

(*in dorso*).

To my honored Cosen Coll. John Lloyd, theese p'sente.

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

Griffith Lloyd of the forest, esqre.
George Jones of Dole Koythey, esq.
John Harries of Kod-y-Garth, esq.
Nicholas W^{ms} of Rid-od-Yn, esq.
Tho. W^{ms} was att^l St. fagans.

I knowe not any but theese that are not guilty.
If you plesse I wilbee Sheerive, or James Jones, or John Harrice.

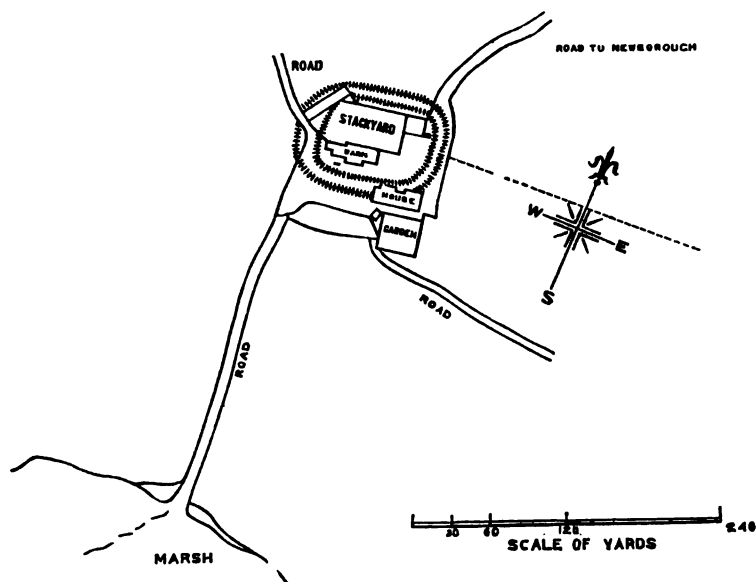
Ho. GWYNNE.

Ther cann bee nge exceptions agenst mee or any of them, beeside
I will endeavour to gett the newe comissoners to certify in our bee
haulfe vnto you.

H. G.

¹ The battle of St. Fagan's, in Glamorganshire.

CAMBRIA ROMANA. RHYDDGAER, ANGLESEY.



IN a short notice of Rhyddgaer, sent by me to the *Journal* (3rd series, Vol. 1, No. iii, p. 214), I mentioned that I thought the camp "circular with a diameter of from 100 to 120 yards." I now find, by more accurate survey, that it was not circular, but inclining to oblong, and rounded at the corners; the greatest length within the inner agger being almost 90 yards, the greatest breadth about 60. There has been an outer line of entrenchment, traces of which are still visible, more particularly on the north-west side. The dotted lines in the plan show the course of the inner and outer entrenchments. The present proprietor levelled a considerable part of the rampart, which passed between the house and the barn, about forty years ago; close within it, near the south-west corner, he found a cistfaen, marked black on the plan; it contained bones; but he could not say whether they were

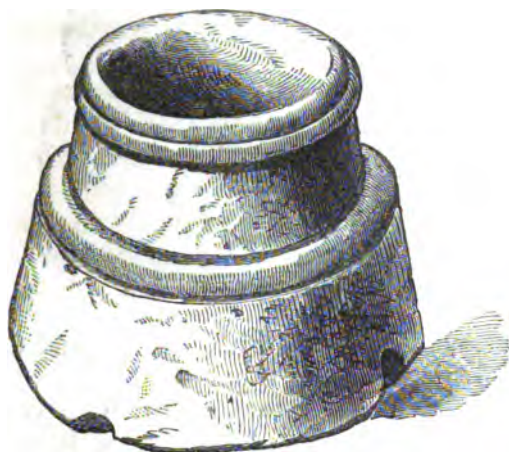
human. From his description it is probable that one entrance was placed about the middle of the south side. The rampart, in the only place where it remains tolerably perfect, is nearly 6 feet high. The road up to the house used formerly to follow the course of the dotted line to the east of the camp.

There are five querns I know of that have been found at Rhyddgaer: three of them are of large size, the other two about a foot in diameter. One of these, of which I append a drawing, has a pattern upon it. I had known for some years of the existence of this quern, but was not aware that there was anything carved upon it, until I came to examine it more attentively a few weeks ago.



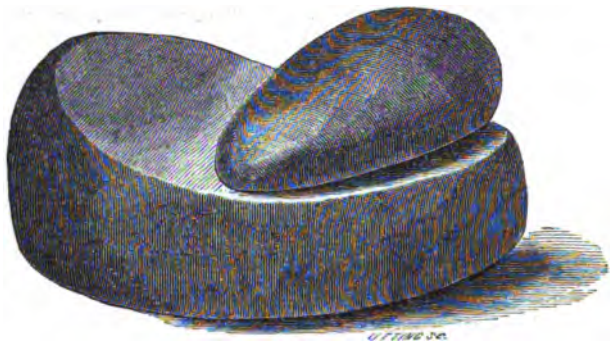
These two querns were found in removing the earth previous to opening a limestone quarry on the farm of Blochty, in the parish of Llanidan, Anglesey. The quarry was first worked about fifty years ago, and is situated about 100 yards north-east of the nearest quadrangular enclosure at Tanben-y-Cefn. The place is marked on the ordnance map as "Caer Fynwent." When the earth was being removed, human remains were found there in considerable quantities. Many querns of plain workmanship, and rude mortars of stone have been, from time to time, discovered at or near the same place. I have been unable to find out whether there was any entrenchment or circular foun-

dition upon this ridge before it was quarried into ; but, at all events, it appears to have been connected with the enclosures at Tanben-y-Cefn (probably it was the



cemetery of the village), the nearest of which was about 100 yards off. I sent a short account of the destruction of these enclosures to the *Journal* (vid. *Archæologia*

Cambrensis, new series, Vol. iii, No. IX, p. 209), mentioning the discovery of Roman coins, three of which



I had seen: an Antoninus Pius, Lucilla, and Carausius. They are of the following type:—

Antoninus Pius (first brass). Obv. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. PP. TRP. COS. III. Head to the right. Rev. Illegible, but probably BRITANNIA. A female figure seated upon a pile of rocks; the right hand raised, the left resting on a shield.

Lucilla (first brass). Obv. LVCILLAE. AVG. ANTONINI. AVG. F. Head to the right. Rev. Illegible. A female figure pouring a libation on an altar, S. C.

Carausius (third brass). Obv. IMP. CARAVSIVS. PP. AVG. Head to the right. Rev., PAX. AVG. Peace standing. The die has slipped in striking this coin, and part of the impression of another coin is left upon one side of it. Since then two more have come to light, viz.:—

Hadrianus (first brass). Obv. Illegible. Head to the right; the portrait is unmistakeable. Rev. Illegible. Salus feeding a serpent rising from an altar, S. C.

The other is of *Gordianus III* (first brass). Obv. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AVG. Head to the right. Rev. CONCORDIA. AVG. Concord seated.

A coin which, owing to the quarter it came from, I have every reason to think belongs to the Rhyddgaer find, came into my possession a short time back: it is a third brass of Claudius Gothicus, of the following

type:—Obv., IMP. C. CLAVDIVS. AVG. Head to the right.
Rev. EQVITAS. AVG. Equity standing.

With the exception of some pieces of pottery and animal remains, nothing else, that I know of, has come to light here since 1856. The small circle near the north corner of the camp marks the spot where the coins were found.

Numerous fragments of Samian and other wares have been found here, and portions of mortaria of a fawn-coloured clay, the surface of the interior studded with small silicious stones to counteract attrition. The dimensions of these enclosures, which, I take it, were a kind of village inhabited by Romans or Romanized Britons, are as follow:—The larger of the two, 50 yards by 38, containing four circular foundations, three of 21 feet diameter, and the other much less: the smaller enclosure 32 feet by 25, containing two circular foundations, each 21 feet diameter. The Sarn running from Rhyddgaer in this direction, passes a furlong to the north of the quadrangular enclosures, and joins the Roman road, which comes up from Barras, about two furlongs off on the edge of the Rhosfawr Common. I should mention that the larger enclosure, which alone existed when the ordnance survey was made, is marked on the map as Caér Machod.

W. WYNN WILLIAMS.

Menaifron, Sept. 27th, 1860.

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

LLANFECHAN, CARDIGANSHIRE.

THE early inscribed stone which still exists in this locality, in a position where it may be easily injured, though it is known but to few, is thus noticed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* :

“LLANVAUGHAN.—In the kitchen garden, by the side of the gate, is an ancient inscribed stone, about nine feet three inches in height above the ground, and one foot eight inches in breadth. The inscription may be read as follows: TRENACATUS IC JACET FILIVS MAGLAGNI; who was buried, in all probability, in the chapel called *Capel Whyl*, as this stone was found in the eastern wall of the ruins of that building, a few feet below the surface of the earth.” (pp. 191-2.)

Sir Samuel also gave a delineation of this stone in his fourth plate. This, the earliest notice of a very valuable monument, is so far interesting that it traces the migration of the stone from the flat meadows near the Teivy, where the ancient chapel stood, to the slope of the hill above. It was most probably brought up hither from the ruined chapel, with the best intentions; that is to say, for its preservation, though it would have been better to have been able to record that the chapel had been repaired, and the stone left within the precincts of the consecrated ground. From the circumstance of its having been found beneath the ground, it might be supposed that it covered the remains of the personage commemorated; and in this respect its history resembles that of one of the great stones of Llantwit Major, which had fallen down, and was actually buried by accumulation of rubbish over the very spot where a body, probably of contemporaneous date, was found interred. But there is no positive evidence to shew that this was the case with the stone now described. On the other hand, however, it is highly probable that these early inscribed stones may have been originally placed in an

upright position,—this one, of course, among them,—and that they did not serve the same purposes as the incised coffin-lids of the middle ages. The point is worthy of the attention of archæologists; because other points connected with the history of these stones are to some degree dependent upon it. An attempt should be made to determine whether these early stones were originally placed vertically, and above the ground; or horizontally, and buried beneath it.

The actual position of this stone does not tally with Sir Samuel's description, for it stands in a wall forming the western boundary of what was once a garden, but no trace of a gateway remains; and instead of being nine feet above the ground, its height, as far as it is visible, is not now more than six feet eight inches. Either, therefore, it has been again moved since that indefatigable and learned antiquary first saw it, or the ground has greatly changed its level. Each supposition implies the possibility of danger and damage,—any animal coming up against it might cause injury,—and as the mansion of Llanfechan, or Llanvaughan, is now in



ruins, it might be desirable to move this stone back again down to its original locality, and then to surround it, first of all with a cairn of stones, and next with a wall. The historical interest of the monument would be best consulted, perhaps, by such a course of proceeding.

It is somewhat remarkable that Sir Samuel, who was so acute and accurate an observer, should have made no mention of the Oghamic characters upon one of the edges and the top of the stone; for although the existence of an Oghamic alphabet was then not known in Wales, yet the marks in this instance are so peculiarly well defined that they could hardly have escaped his notice. Edward Lhwyd had delineated some of them on the SAGRAMNVS stone, though he said nothing about them. His worthy disciple in the present instance passed them equally *sub silentio*.

An admirable drawing of this stone was exhibited to the Association at the Cardigan meeting. It was from the accomplished pencil of Miss Jones, of Gwynfryn; and it is from this drawing, verified by another sketch and some rubbings made by other members of the Association, that the accompanying illustration has been formed. It is, perhaps, the best preserved inscription of any in Wales: the letters and the Oghams are as sharp as if executed only a few years ago; the edges too, of the stone are quite perfect. The material, which, for want of a better name, may be called porphyritic greenstone (fine grained and with small crystals in this instance), accounts partly for this circumstance. No doubt, however, the burial of the stone, whenever it occurred, helped to preserve it; just as, in another instance in Brecknockshire, the building of an inscribed stone into a church wall, with its letters inside, has handed down to us one of the most valuable monuments of which Wales can boast.

Such being the history and description of the general condition of this stone, it remains to consider the inscription itself. The letters indicate a very early period; the same, in fact, *whatever that period may really be, as*

that of the SAGRAMNVS stone, so well known to our members. The absence of the H in the second line; the uncertainty, or the mistake, in the cutting of the T and the F; the peculiar forms of the G,—are all points of interest, and may help to the determining of its palæographical date. It will be observed, too, that the letters do not touch each other, nor inosculate, as is so often the case in inscriptions of the kind. The letters were correctly read by Sir Samuel Meyrick, and there is no obscurity about them. The name in the third line would seem to shew an Erse connexion, as in other instances in Wales; and another peculiarity of the inscription is, that the terminations of the nominative cases are here preserved,—the words end in *us*, not in *i*. On the whole the inscription testifies to knowledge and care.

The Oghamic inscription reads as usual, from the bottom upwards, and from left to right; and it reads exactly the same as the first three syllables of the name in the first line, only that the letter C is in the Ogham reduplicated—indicating the accent on the penultimate, and therefore testifying to the Cymric origin of the name itself. The two Oghamic marks which terminate this inscription constitute an enigma. They stand for the letters L O; but what they may signify must be left as a problem unsolved for the present. It is remarkable that the Oghamic characters do not go on further with the Latinized inscription so as to give the equivalents of the remaining lines.

The importance of the inscription consists in this, that, so far as it goes, it confirms the alphabet of Professor Graves, and is in harmony with most of the other Oghams hitherto noticed in Wales.

The names of the personages here commemorated will, no doubt, exercise the ingenuity of the historical antiquary; and it cannot but be considered as a matter of interest that one more record of early national biography should have been found existing even in the nineteenth century.

H. L. J.

CELTIC MONUMENTS.

ALTHOUGH throughout Western Europe a certain similarity exists among the stone memorials of its earliest inhabitants, yet the variation of local circumstances is often found to produce as many varieties of these remains as conflicting theories regarding their several purposes and natures. In proportion, however, as the examination of these monuments *in situ* is more accurately carried out, and the comparison of these varieties drawn by those who are more inclined to trust to their own eyes than the descriptions of others, so many of these supposed differences will be found to vanish, that, as regards all practical purposes, a simple threefold division will appear to be sufficient. The division proposed would embrace:

1. The tumulus.
2. The chamber known usually as the cromlech, dolmen, kistvaen, with or without a gallery or passage.
3. The pillar-stone, as the maenhir, menhir, peulvaen, pierre fichée, fixée, etc.

It is true, indeed, that besides these, there are the remains of primitive dwellings and settlements; enclosures of all kinds, including circles; artificial mounts, places of defence or meeting, stone altars, rocking and sounding stones. But excluding rocking and sounding stones, the artificial character of which, as well as their connexion with Druidic mysteries, is very questionable; excluding also all remains which are evidently domestic or defensive,—the remaining monuments, with the exception of stone altars, may probably, as investigations are more carefully and accurately carried on, be found to be sepulchral, or else connected with sepulchral monuments. Even Stonehenge itself may one day be considered as belonging to the same class. For practical purposes, therefore, we may safely divide all these early monuments, generally called Celtic—apparently



The Menhir of Kerloaz.



for want of some more satisfactory appellation, for some are not Celtic—into tumuli, chambers, and pillar-stones.

Of the first of these, the tumulus has been the least fruitful source of antiquarian speculation; for, in accordance with its very name, it is generally considered the tomb of the dead. It is true, indeed, that no little learning has been employed to connect many of these monticules with Teutates or the Gaulish Mercury; or, according to other opinions, with the Gaulish Apollo; and it has even been conjectured that the Toot Hills, as those in the neighbourhood of Abury and Stonehenge, are so called from that deity. In other cases, however, especially in parts of Wales, it does not appear applicable to our own Twt Hills, as at Caernarvon, Rhuddlan, Pembroke, Conway, and elsewhere, which appear to be intended for military purposes.

There is, however, one remarkable exception, namely Silbury Hill, the nature of which is almost as difficult an enigma as Abury and Stonehenge, with which places also it is connected by those authorities who favour what may be called the "astronomical theory" respecting Stonehenge. In the year 1849 the Archæological Institute carried on the most extensive and searching investigations without coming to any signs of interment, as was always the case at the end of the last century,—when the Duke of Norfolk of that date sank a shaft from the summit to the natural ground. In neither case did the excavators succeed in laying bare any vestiges of inhumation or cremation. Nothing, therefore, as yet is known regarding this celebrated artificial hill, except that it is earlier than the Roman road which turns out of its course, on the right, for the purpose of avoiding it. The late Dean of Hereford, in his account of the excavations in 1849, gives the evidence of two old men, one aged eighty, and the other ninety-five; the younger of whom stated that he had often heard his father say that some miners out of Cornwall dug down to the bottom, and found "a man," *i.e.*, the remains of one.

The elder one spoke of the same fact, but of his own knowledge, though it is not stated whether he actually saw the skeleton. But as skeletons are constantly found by persons digging for flints, either in the centre or edges of barrows, on the Wiltshire downs, the natural expectation of finding "a man" probably led to the inference that one was found ; and the inference would soon be converted into an alleged fact. It is evident, therefore, that we can rely on these two witnesses no more than we can on Stukeley's story of the royal personage found near the surface of the summit.

The author of the *Nænia Britannica*, alluding to this hill, says: "I have often considered these large hills as temples of the Sun, by a people the descendants of the Scythæ, whose religious rites are similar to those of the Gentiles cotemporary with the patriarchs of Holy Writ." As already stated, others connect it with the great astronomical system of which Stonehenge has been supposed by some to form the principal member. Although, however, no certain traces of interment have been yet discovered in this remarkable tumulus, yet future investigators may be more successful ; and even if this is thought unlikely, from the able and scientific manner in which the unsuccessful search was carried on in 1849 ; and if the complete absence of all traces preclude the supposition that, at an earlier and unknown period, the contents had been removed by searchers after treasure,—even still it might appear safer to follow what is now ascertained to be a general rule, that all tumuli (of course excluding military works) are sepulchral, than to assign so singular a character, of which *no other instances are known to exist*. We have numerous examples of such artificial hills much larger than that of Silbury, all of which that have been explored have been found to cover the remains of the dead ; and even those that have not yet been so examined, are invariably found in the neighbourhood of known burial-grounds, and are generally believed to be of the same character. The more natural inference, therefore, is, that this hill,

although no traces of interment have been, or may be, discovered, is more likely to be what other similar mounts are, than either a temple of the Sun, or an astronomical observatory, or a portion of a Dracontium, or anything else, in fact, what other mounds are known not to be.

The second head of our division is the stone chamber, which may be said to comprise all stone cells from the most magnificent cromlech down to the humblest kistvaen. We have unfortunately adopted the very inappropriate term of "cromlech" for the larger chambers, or their remains, in our country; for not only is the name anything but descriptive of the monument itself, but it has apparently been the source of various theories. Who invented the term is not, we believe, as yet ascertained, though the author of *Mona Antiqua* is stated to have first used it in its present sense. It occurs, indeed, in the Welsh version of the Bible, but in a different sense. Another reason why the term should be discarded, and some more appropriate one adopted, is, that French writers designate by the same appellation a circle of stones, generally with one or more stones in the centre. But neither in their case is the term an appropriate one. For the chamber they employ usually the word "dolmen," which in Breton is equivalent to *stone table*, the covering stones of the chambers in that country being generally flat slabs of granite placed horizontally; whereas in many examples in this country the upper portion of the cap-stone is more or less slanting,—a position often asserted to have been intentional, that the blood of the sacrifice might escape more rapidly. These chambers are also known by various other names in France, as the "grotte aux fées" and "l'allée couverte," "coffre de pierres," "demi-dolmen," "lichaven," something similar to our trilithon; but most of which are only mutilated forms of the perfect chamber with or without its gallery of approach.

That these chambers, without exception, are sepul-

chral, is now generally acknowledged. In the great majority of examples, human remains have been found ; and where they have been wanting, traces of former explorers have frequently been discovered. But even this evidence does not always convince the advocate of the altar theory, for he argues that the bones found are probably those of the victim sacrificed. The question, however, has been so generally allowed to be settled, that it is unnecessary to make any remarks upon it, except that, if *our* cromlechs were used as altars by the Druids, they did not exercise the best judgment in invariably turning downward the side which, from its flatness and smoothness, would have been most useful as an altar-table, and instead thereof adopted the side which was the least calculated for their purpose.¹ There is also another objection which seems still more fatal to the altar theory, viz., the almost, if not completely, universal custom of covering these stone chambers with heaps composed of earth or stones, or both mixed together. Although time and man have long since removed the superincumbent mass, so that no vestiges remain even in what are now wild solitudes, where one would have least expected any such denudation, nevertheless it is now generally acknowledged that, as a general rule, all chambers were once covered with a mound of some kind or other ; and if this is admitted, they could not have served as altars.

One difficulty, however, has suggested itself to a certain school of antiquarians who, though they may go so far as to acknowledge that the indiscriminate application of the term "Druidic" to all such stone monuments may be objectionable, because there is no evidence of any kind that they are connected with the Druids, yet, as no one denies the existence of the Druids, and that they did perform their sacrifices on certain stones or rocks which served them as altars, they ask, where those altars are. There are remains of various kinds of

¹ Not only does the cap-stone invariably present the flat surface undermost, but the lateral supporters also have the smoother and more regular face turned inwards.

monuments allowed to be at least cotemporary with Druidic times. There are circles of various characters and dimensions, certain rude structures as cromlechs, pillar-stones, etc., scattered about us in greater or less profusion. Why have these remained, and the stone-altars alone have perished? This very objection has accordingly been made use of as a kind of argument that, as the Druids had altars, they must have remained as well as the other cotemporary monuments; and as nothing seems better adapted for an altar than the flat or sloping covering-stone of these cromlechs, they must be the altars in question. Incredible as it may appear, such a reason is actually advanced by the Abbé Mahé, who in his embarrassment argues thus: "Parmi nous se sont conservés des monuments celtiques de toutes espèces, des barrows, des galgals (carns), des menhirs, des cromlèchs (circles), etc.; les autels seraient-ils les seuls qui auraient totalement disparu? et si quelques-uns ont échappé aux ravages du temps, où peut-on mieux les trouver que dans nos dolmens si semblables à des autels."

But without here entering into any remarks as to the question whether there exist traces of veritable Druidic altars, it will be sufficient to observe that, if all the altars are destroyed, it is but the natural consequence of what we know occurred, at least in one instance, on the shores of Anglesey, when Suetonius Paulinus cut down the groves in which barbarous and cruel rites were practised ("sævis superstitionibus sacri."—Tac., *An.* xiv). And what Paulinus did on this occasion, was probably done on other occasions; for although the Romans, when it answered their purpose, were tolerant enough as regards the religion of conquered nations, yet when an opposite course was thought necessary to their policy, they would not be deterred by any scruples from extirpating, as far as they could, any objectionable superstition. Under these circumstances, we can easily conceive, even from the brief account of one engagement, what formidable enemies the Druids, not merely as the priests, but the real governors of the native tribes, would appear

to the Romans ; and therefore their first acts would be to destroy everything connected with their religion, so as to diminish their influence. While, however, they cut down the sacred groves, and, as we may infer, for the same reason broke up or desecrated the altars found therein, they would scrupulously respect whatever was not connected with the hated superstition, especially if valued by the great bulk of the people ; and such would be the burial-places and sepulchral monuments of their fathers, the dolmens or cromlechs, the stone-pillars, etc. The very fact, therefore, that these monuments were not destroyed, while sacred groves and altars were, would shew that they were not objects of the superstitions of Druidism, and were respected and preserved simply because they were sepulchral.

But even if Roman persecution was not sufficient to account for the complete destruction of all such altars ; or if, after the legions were withdrawn from Britain, Druidism, still further debased by the admixture of other systems, had once more raised its head,—there still remained more formidable enemies in the persons of the early missionaries, whose first act would be to demand as a proof of the sincerity of their converts, the desecration and destruction of every object of their former superstition ; so that between the Roman soldier and the Christian missionary few relics of Druidism would have been allowed to escape. That other monuments were not so treated, would seem to shew their non-religious, and therefore their non-Druidic, character.

It is true, indeed, that in the early councils, such as those of Arles, Tours, Toledo, prohibitions against stone-worship were issued. The same enactments are found in the cartularies of Charlemagne ; and even as late as the time of Canute, if not later, are there proofs of adoration paid to certain stones. But these stones are not described or thought to be altars ; nor does, indeed, the fact of their being thus adored, militate against their sepulchral character ; for as the ignorant peasant of the present day venerates the mere statue of some

favourite saint, and not the saint himself, so the devotion of the Celt was transferred from the memory of the dead to the pillar that marked his grave ; and hence, in some cases perhaps, the superstitious notions regarding many such monuments which still exist even at the present day.

No argument, therefore, against the sepulchral character of these monuments can be fairly drawn from the often-quoted acts of councils and other edicts, as to the non-sepulchral character of these stone monuments. Some, no doubt, were, for the reasons already stated, connected with superstitious practices, and even actually worshipped ; but, as already stated, these were probably connected with the memory of some great hero or event, and were originally simple monumental stones. Such, that thus became objects of idolatry, no doubt shared the same fate as the altars. Had *all* been of the same character, all would probably have received the same treatment. The mere fact, therefore, of their preservation is, to a certain degree, a proof that they were not connected with the Druidical or any other pagan superstition, and were merely sepulchral.

But within the last two or three years a question has arisen, whether there are not still existing certain rocks which really were Druidic altars. This subject has not yet received that attention which it seems to deserve ; nor would it seem difficult to verify by actual inspection what truth there is in the assertions of an intelligent observer, M. Fouquet, a gentleman who is well acquainted with the monuments of his country, and who certainly cannot be accused of any leaning to the Druidic school ; for his principal object is to shew that all the great Celtic monuments of Brittany, from Carnac downwards to the humblest menhir, are simply sepulchral, and nothing else. This gentleman, however, describes with great particularity certain instances of rocks in which holes have been drilled by man ; and states that these rocks are invariably in their natural position, not having been placed there by human means. Be-

sides these, he mentions other instances where rocks projecting from the ground have been broken up into fragments which are still lying around in an irregular order, and which can be identified as having formed part of what may be called the stump of the original mass remaining in the ground. Invariably also in these rocks, which have been more or less mutilated, may be traced a narrow natural gorge running round the lower part of the base. There are two kinds of rocks, then, that M. Fouquet believes to have served as altars: those that have their surface drilled with holes, and those which have been mutilated as described, having also a narrow gorge at the lower part of the base. In all cases these works have not been placed in their positions by human hands.

It is true that other writers have also given very minute descriptions of cavities and channels which are confidently stated to have been made by instruments for the purpose of receiving or conducting the blood of the victim sacrificed upon the stone. But all the instances mentioned occur only on the cap-stones of dolmens, and in no case on natural rocks, as described by M. Fouquet. But later and more accurate observers have since examined most of these cavities on the dolmen slabs; and in all cases they have been found to be due to the action of moisture and air on the softer portions of the stone; so that in no one single instance is there satisfactory evidence of any artificial hollows. Whenever marks of tooling do occur on the covering slabs of such chambers, it is the invariable rule that they are always on the under, and not the upper side of the stone—another collateral proof of these slabs not being altars—for in that case, these lines and markings would have been naturally on the upper and not the under surface. The only known instances of cavities wrought by man, at least according to M. Fouquet, occur on natural rocks only, nor has he ever seen any but on such rocks; nor are these cavities intended for receiving the blood, but are simply the result of an attempt at desecration; for

where, from the particular character of the rock or other cause, it was not convenient or easy to destroy the altar bodily by mutilation, it would be sufficient to deface it with these cavities and lines, so as to render it useless and destroy its religious character, for no tool was allowed to approach the Druidic altar. In the immediate neighbourhood of Vannes are stated to be four such mutilated altars. Others are mentioned at Heskéno and Gras-d'Or, places not far distant, in all which instances the characteristic gorge is said to exist, except where the stone has been broken away.

The third division includes the pillar or standing stone, the Maenhir of Wales, the Menhir, or Peulvan, of Brittany, the Pierre Fichée or Levée of the French. These are found either standing singly or in groups of various characters.

In our own country, the normal arrangement is almost universally circular, the stones being placed at certain intervals from one another. In rare instances a low wall of dry masonry, or earth, or a mixture of stone and earth, runs between each pillar, thus forming a continuous circle. An example of this occurs in the parish of Dwygyfylchi, in Caernarvonshire, and has been described in the first series of the Journal, where an accurate lithographic view of it is given. Sometimes the stones of the circle are in contact with each other. These, when they are not large circles, formed the outer edge of a cairn which has disappeared. Rare instances occur, however, where such circles are so large as not easily to admit of this explanation. A fine specimen occurs a short distance from Inverness, on the right side of the high-road to Nairn.

In Brittany, which contains the most numerous and finest remains of this kind, it is remarkable that the circle so common with ourselves is wanting. One, indeed, has been stated to exist on the summit of Mount Menez, a rocky strip of land that connects the Peninsula of Crozon with the rest of the department (Finisterre), but no accurate or satisfactory account of

it has yet been published, and some doubts exist as to its real character. Practically speaking, therefore, it may be laid down, that the stone-circle is unknown in that country, which has, however, a strongly developed type of its own, namely, that of the alignment, or a system of parallel rows of stones, the most magnificent and striking of which is the well-known Carnac. This monument, which has been as fruitful a parent of speculations and theories as our own Stonehenge, is now generally believed to be only a vast cemetery, and it is not impossible but that one day the same simple solution may be found for the mysterious monument on the Wiltshire downs. The alignment is, however, wanting in this country, for the avenues once connected with the Abury circle were not apparently of the same character, as neither was that conjectured by some to have once connected the great circle near Penrith, called Long Meg and her daughters, with some relics about ten miles distant. The great circle at Callenish, in the Island of Lewis, has indeed avenues which give it the appearance of a cross, but which do not seem to come up to the arrangement of parallel lines. At present, therefore, there does not exist within our own islands any arrangement similar to the Breton alignment.

As regards the ordinary circles, called by the French Cromlech, the majority have agreed to look upon them as simply connected with burial places, surrounding either single or several graves. Not unfrequently stones are found remaining in the centre, the last relics of the once existing tumulus or cairn, which man, or time, or both, have effectually removed, leaving nothing but the surrounding circle often composed of stones not easily removed or destroyed. It has, however, been sometimes objected, that these circles are commonly found in wild and uncultivated districts, where it is unlikely that man would have had any motives, at least as regards agricultural objects, to remove the superincumbent tumulus or cairn, and, consequently, that it may be doubted whether such tumuli or cairns always occu-

pied the centre of such circles. The force of this objection, such as it is, is in some degree met by the circumstance, that districts which are now uncultivated and uninhabited by man were, beyond all doubt, once both cultivated and inhabited.

There are, however, still left to us instances of such ancient burial places in a tolerable state of preservation, which set at rest, as far as may be, the meaning of these circles. One of the most remarkable of these is, at the present day, to be seen near Culloden, in the county of Inverness, on a wild and uncultivated piece of ground washed on one side by the water of Nairn, and popularly known as the place of Druids' temples, but which is in reality nothing but an early cemetery, now called Clava Plain. The term Clava, evidently identical with the Welsh Llavan, and the Latin Lamentor, is stated to be a Pictish word, meaning the same as Lavan and Lamentor, and is indicative of the character of its monuments. In this place are seen several monuments in different states of perfection, the most perfect presenting a circular chamber of small dry masonry, probably once rudely vaulted, lying under stone cairns. These are again surrounded by circles of pillar-stones at some little distance from the outer edge of each cairn. In one case, where the land has been brought into cultivation, the chamber and cairn have vanished, but the circle of pillar-stones still erect their tall heads among the corn. In another instance in the same spot, the outer circle of pillar-stones have been removed, as well as the chamber and cairn, of which last, however, the foundation-stones of its outer edge still remain, presenting the appearance of a circle with the stones in contact with one another.

But there are many examples of such circles of such dimensions, such as many in Cornwall and Scotland, and the one already alluded to, known as Long Meg and her daughters, one of the finest and most perfect we have, which are too large to have been mere circles, surrounding any one single grave or tumulus. There

may be some force in this objection which it is not easy to meet, though it may appear more easy to suppose that these larger circles may have served as enclosures for several graves, forming thus a kind of cemetery, than to presume that they are sacred enclosures or temples for the performance of Druidic rites; or places for the meeting of popular assemblies; or, finally, Bardic circles of which the distinctive qualifications and rules are laid down by certain writers, such as the number and distances of the stones; the wide spaces between them with reference to particular points of the compass, all which details are entered into with such minuteness as to throw serious doubts on the antiquity, and, therefore, authority of these accounts, which after all may be mere fictions of a comparative late date.

One uncontradicted fact, however, exists, that certain circles are proved to be connected with places of sepulchres. No other use for circles has been ascertained with equal certainty, or rather with any certainty at all. In the kindred country of Brittany, instead of circles we find alignments¹ differing in size and importance almost as much as circles do with us. As regards the sepulchral and monumental character of these, the most competent judges have come to one conclusion; and, until some new light is thrown upon the subject, we are probably following the safest course in supposing that the same may be said of all circles, large or small. Little, however, has yet been done by systematic and effectual "diggings" near, or even under [as far as can be done with safety] the pillar-stones. Such excavations, however, as have been made have not been unsuccessful, and the general result has been to confirm the conjecture of their sepulchral character.

Besides the arrangement of these pillar-stones in circles, several instances occur of their being found in groups of three; but whether this is mere accident, and

¹ Other arrangements are that of the square, the cuneus of Olaus Magnus, and the star, an instance of which was stated at the meeting of the Breton Association at St. Brieux, to exist near that place.

these groups are only the last relics of a larger assemblage, has been questioned. The numerous instances, however, existing are very remarkable, so that the number three may not be so accidental, a view partly confirmed by the circumstances, that the same number obtains in groups of cairns or mounds, as occur near Capel Colbren, in the south part of Breconshire, where three cairns existed; so also we find in the north of Pembrokeshire another instance in Moel Trygarn, which takes its name from the three large cairns on its summit. Trichrug near Llandeilo, in Caermarthenshire, on still more elevated ground, is another example; to which, probably, others may be added on further examination of our mountains.

Groups of three pillar-stones are sometimes found under circumstances such as to render it improbable that they are the mere remaining members of larger monuments. One remarkable instance was visited by the Association in 1857, during the Monmouth meeting, namely the stones of Trelech, now a small village, but formerly a place of greater importance; and which is so called from the three large pillar-stones standing a little below the site of the castle. These stones are in such a position that they may have possibly formed part of a circle of enormous dimensions; but as the name of Trelech occurs in Norman deeds, the destruction of the rest of the circle must have taken place at a very early period, leaving at that time the same three stones now existing. Considering what the destructive powers of man do ordinarily effect on such memorials of the past, it is a singular circumstance that these three stones should have been carefully preserved for so many centuries after the removal of their companions,—if those companions ever existed, which some, indeed, may think doubtful.

A similar group is said to exist near Abergavenny; but no particular description has been given. In the parish of Llanfechell, in the northern part of Anglesey, and about a mile distant, to the west of the church, are three upright stones about eight feet high, disposed in

the form of a triangle. There formerly also existed in the parish of Dwygyfylchi, in Caernarvonshire, three stones, long since destroyed; but in what position they stood, is not known. When the tumulus near Berriew, in Montgomeryshire, was excavated in 1857, three masses of stone were placed in the position of a triangle, nearly on the circumference of the mound. Their position is given in the third volume of the present series of the *Journal of the Association* (p. 296). In the parish of Kingarth, in the island of Bute, and near the church, are also three other stones placed in a triangular position. These may have formed part of a circle; which would, however, have been small in proportion to the size of the stones, which are very tall as well as massive. About half a mile below this group, and nearer to the sea, is another group of three, but placed near one another, in a straight line, and which could not have been part of a circle. In other parts of Scotland groups of three or more stones are common, but are generally the remains of mutilated cromlechs; there is, however, one remarkable example at Torr House, near Wigton, where are not only three such pillars of very considerable size but these are surrounded by a circle composed of nineteen others of less dimensions. It is popularly known as the tomb of King Galdus, either from a particular local tradition, or from the more general belief regarding these stone triplets, which is said to exist in parts of Scotland and Scandinavia, and which invariably pronounces them to be graves of distinguished chieftains or warriors.

But whether accident or design has produced these groups of three pillar-stones, and whether, in the latter case, they are to be thought to mark the resting-place of some mighty warrior or chieftain, no reasonable doubt exists as to their simple sepulchral character; unless, indeed, they may be thought by certain antiquarians to be in some way or other connected with the bardic triads.

There are also instances of pairs of pillar-stones such

as exist on the summit of an artificial mount at Blackgate of Pitscandly in Forfarshire, or as those that have given its name to the mountain pass on the Roman road from Caerhun to Aber (Bwlch-y-ddeu faen). There were till lately two such stones, but of somewhat smaller dimensions, on the summit of a natural mound surrounded by an artificial ditch, called Bedd Emlyn, in the parish of Clocaenog near Ruthin. One only is now remaining; the other, an incised one, having been removed to his park, in the adjoining parish, by the late Lord Bagot. (See *Arch. Camb.*, series iii, vol. i, p. 116.) Whether these pairs of stones also are the results of design or simple accident, is uncertain; but at any rate it is not unusual to find pairs of tumuli in several parts of Wales, which are generally supposed to indicate the proximity of an ancient road, either British or Roman.

We have now to consider the single and isolated pillar-stone, the most magnificent example of which in all Europe is represented in the excellent engraving here given from a photograph by Dr. Maunsell of Guernsey, to whose ready kindness the Association is already indebted for the liberal use of his valuable collection. This gigantic obelisk stands in the farm lands of Kerloaz, in the parish of Plougastel, a few miles to the north of Brest. It measures, according to the editors of the new edition of *Ogee*, upwards of forty-two feet, from the surface of the ground. How far it extends below is not known; but, according to the same authority, a considerable portion has been detached from the upper part by lightning. It is connected (as is sometimes the case with other monoliths) with a curious superstition. On two of its sides are cut, by the hand of man, circular bosses in the granite, at rather more than a yard from the ground. Against these young married couples rub themselves; the man on the one side, in the hopes of having nothing but sons borne to him; the lady on the other, with a view to her securing her proper authority and influence over her

husband. Such superstitious practices, however, rather tend to prove the sepulchral character of these monuments than otherwise, as they naturally arise from respect or veneration shewn to the memory or tradition of the person buried.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that such superstitions are always of any great antiquity; at least an example of a modern one exists within a short walk of Quimper, on the road to Douarnenez in Finisterre. Opposite to a gate leading to the ruins of a Templar foundation, is a low common grave by the road side, which might be easily taken for the ordinary mound formed from the sweepings of the road, but for the innumerable little rude wooden crosses thickly covering it, and placed by the devout, who carry away a small portion of the earth, which is mixed with water, and drank as an infallible cure for fever. The particular body which communicates this virtue is that of a man named Tangay who was murdered and buried on the spot about a century ago; but how this superstition became connected with his grave is not now known. A similar custom existed in some parts of Ireland within the last twenty years, and probably does so at present, where a favourite grave is sometimes in danger of being entirely denuded of its soil, which is taken away and swallowed, as in the case of Tangay's grave, for the cure of certain diseases. One grave in the old burial-ground at Glendalough lately had, and probably still has, this character. In the same manner certain pillar-stones have similar healing powers, such as the one mentioned by Mr. Le Men in his notice of the antiquities of the district around Pontaven (*Arch. Camb.*, series iii, vol. v, p. 185), called the stone of St. Philibert, which has the character of curing the colic by rubbing the person against its surface. That this particular stone is a sepulchral one, is probable from its proximity to the dolmen on the opposite side of the road. The connexion, therefore, of such superstitions with particular stones does not appear to militate against their simply marking a grave.

Single pillar-stones have been usually divided into different kinds. Some are said to be mere terminal or boundary stones; others commemorative of particular events; others serving as objects of religious worship; and lastly, those which are acknowledged to be simply sepulchral. Writers, however, who have adopted this division, have been sorely puzzled to lay down any distinctive marks to which class any particular stone is to be referred. They all, however, agree that by far the larger majority are undoubtedly placed over the dead,—in fact, are simple tombstones. Now as the size and weight of many of these stones, and the natural respect to them as covering the remains of the dead, seem to make them very convenient as terminal stones, as not being likely to be disturbed, it might be expected that they would sometimes be used as such; and their being so used does not prove they were not originally sepulchral. Thus we frequently find a Roman or British road forming the boundaries of ancient lordships, though the road itself has been long since disused, and become a mere strip of neutral ground between the two manors; so, if any of these pillar-stones are proved from ancient records, or other evidence, to be ancient boundary marks, they may be as much older than the divisions thus marked out, as the Roman or British roads are anterior to the manors on either side.

As to the simple commemorative stone erected to mark some particular occurrence,—such as may be supposed the stone giant of Kerloaz,—nothing but bare conjecture can be offered, unsupported by anything which might even invest the theory with the slightest probability. Unless we go back to the days of Jacob and Joshua, we know nothing about the erection of rude masses without a line of written or hieroglyphic character to record any particular event.

It is “indeed *possible*” that some of the more remarkable of these monoliths may have been erected to commemorate some particular event, but as so many have been proved to be merely sepulchral monuments, and

as there is no reason why those that have not yet been proved to be such are exceptions, the easiest and the safest inference is, that they are all sepulchral; such at least, especially in connection with the tumulus, appears to have been one, the use of the pillar in the Homeric age—where we find the two mentioned together, and expressly described as the due honour and reward of the dead. Thus Apollo is ordered by Jupiter to provide such for the dead Sarpedon :

Τύμβω τε στήλῃ τε τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων. *Iliad*, xvi.

See also *Odyssey*, xii.

Τύμβον χεύαντες καὶ ἐπὶ στήλην ἐρύσαντες.

The Archbishop of Upsal, Olaus Magnus, has divided these pillar-stones into four classes; the alignment, the square, the wedge (cuneus), and the circle, which last he held to indicate the burial place of families, "*et sphaerico familiarum designantia sepulturas.*" None of these, however, does he in any way connect with druidical or other superstitions, while he seems to have been in an equally happy state of ignorance as regards the mysterious sanctuaries and bardic circles of more modern times.

Although we not unfrequently find these pillars connected with a name, yet in most cases the name has been borrowed at a later period—frequently from some saint—such as Maen Beuno in Montgomeryshire, and the pillar-stone already alluded to, as curative of cholic, and which is known as the stone of St. Philibert. The placing these monuments under the protection of any particular saint was not unusual among early missionaries, who, finding any superstitious belief attaching to any monument of the kind, would put it under the care of some tutelary saint, to whom the peasants' addresses were to be transferred. Wherever, therefore, we find a pillar thus associated with any saint, it is probable that this association has been caused by some earlier superstition connected with it; and this earlier superstition in its turn, and in some cases, may perhaps be of

considerable antiquity), has, without doubt arisen from the fact that the stone marks the resting place of one distinguished for his virtue, his learning, or his power.

There is, however, a remarkable instance, where tradition has still preserved the original truth—for among the various monuments at Locmariaker, in the Morbihan, is a large pillar-stone, now prostrate, known by the peasants as the *Men Brâo São*, or the *elevated stone of the Brave*; and it is not unlikely, if more careful inquiries were made among the peasantry in those districts where these monuments most abound, that many other instances of the same tradition as to the real nature of these monuments might be found to exist.

But the most effectual and most certain mode of arriving at the truth will ultimately be the more simple process of digging. If excavations were more generally and effectually carried out—under proper direction—than they often are now (most of our operations being too desultory and irregular), there can be little doubt that the result would be a confirmation of the views here expressed, regarding the simple funereal and sepulchral character of the three great divisions of the chamber, the circle, and the pillar.

As regards the last, about which perhaps most doubt has hitherto existed, it may not be uninteresting to append a brief notice of some instances in which excavations have been made, the results of which confirm the view here taken.

Montfaucon gives an account of a discovery in Normandy, made by an engineer engaged on some works, and who, thinking two fine pillar-stones standing in the neighbourhood useful for his purpose, removed them, and in so doing laid bare a skeleton which, on further investigation, proved to be one of a long row of similar remains.

Gregoire de Rostrenen in his French-Celtic Dictionary states that there was found near Castre, situated about

ten miles from Quimper, eleven skulls in a large hollow where a menhir had stood. Both these instances are noticed by M. Mahé.

There is, or was lately, a pillar-stone in the commune Colombiers-sur-Seule, in Normandy, connected with some curious superstitious practices. Several graves, each containing a skeleton, have been discovered close to it.

At Crach, near Auray (Morbihan), were discovered, under a pillar-stone, several *iron* celts, which, however, were so oxydized as to fall to pieces.

M. Le Men (*Arch. Camb.*, series iii, vol. v, p. 185) has given an account of a large number of bronze celts carefully arranged in a small chamber of dry masonry, discovered at the foot of a pillar-stone in 1858.

In the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, vol. iv, p. 601, other instances are given of the same results, where numerous skeletons were found connected with these monuments.

In the Third Quarterly number (1859) of the *Bulletins de la Société de l'Ouest*, an account is given of long lines of dolmens and pillar stones standing in échelon, on the right bank of the river Clain for nearly fifty miles, between Chatelherault and Civrai. Throughout this vast line numerous excavations have been carried on, which have led to the discovery of human bones mixed with arrow heads, knives, hatchets in silex, agate, and bone—and vases of a coarse black clay. *La Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, vol. iii, p. 572.

In the parish of Plomelin near Quimper, are the remains of an alignment, the existing members of which are of very large dimensions. Under one of these was discovered three bricks of a bright red colour, apparently Roman, two of which acted as supporters to the third. In the recess thus formed was found a brass coin of the ordinary Nemausus type, in excellent preservation, and remarkable for its beautiful green patina, so valuable in numismatic eyes. Another Roman second brass was also found with it, or near it, but too

defaced to enable any one to refer it to its emperor. It was, however, of the ordinary size of the earlier second brass. These are now in the possession of M. Du Marhallac'h, whose chateau is in the parish, and on whose private grounds are the remains of a Roman villa. This circumstance may throw some light on the Roman coin and bricks under the Celtic stone.

At Llandaoudee in the Peninsula of Crozon, the peasants were in 1855 busy in destroying the stones which composed the so called Temenos or sanctuary of that place. They had just completed the overthrow of one of them, when by accident a neighbouring gentleman arrived at the spot, and on scratching with his walking stick in the hole whence the stone had been just removed, he found a perfect stone celt, about five inches long, which is now in his possession.

There is also another of these so called sacred enclosures or temples in the peninsula of Kermorvan, near le Conquet, in the arrondissement of Brest. In 1856, M. Goguet, Captain of Engineers, while superintending the erection of a fort, dug under one of the sanctuary pillars and found a small celt, beautifully polished, and formed of some dark hard stone. He was informed by the neighbours that such things were constantly found under the same circumstances.

Another celt, also in stone, was found by a friend of M. Le Men, of Quimper, under a menhir, in a field in the parish of Mahalon, near Pontecroix.

Those members who attended the Bangor meeting may have noticed a large collection of stone celts of various sizes, and which have been described in the Journal of the Society, all of which have been found at various times in the parishes of Carnac and Erdeven, where the most numerous and magnificent collections of these pillar-stones still exist, though many hundreds have been at various times destroyed. These celts, with the exception of one dredged up from the sea, have been turned up at various times by the plough, as the

destruction of the pillars made way for the invasions of the agriculturist.

To these few instances may possibly be added many more, especially by those who from local circumstances may have the best opportunities, not only of examining for themselves, but obtaining information from the native peasantry. But even these few examples here brought forward strongly confirm what is, in fact, now acknowledged to be the more general opinion of antiquaries.

Scotland possesses many fine examples of this class of monuments, and, what is of no less importance, reckons among her sons men who have not only perpetuated the existence of these monuments in such noble works as that of Mr. Chalmers or of the Spalding Club, edited by Mr. Stuart, but who have been no less active with the spade and mattock than the pencil, and who have by the result of their "diggings" brought to light many facts, all uniformly tending to confirm the views here presented. Various notices of groups of standing stones will be found in the work already alluded to, edited by Mr. Stuart, who has also kindly communicated some further details connected with this subject.

At Blackgate, of Pitscandly, in Forfarshire, are two large pillars on the top of an artificial mound. Under one of these a sepulchral urn was found.

The Stone of Morphie, in Kincardineshire, is an obelisk of thirteen feet in height above ground. Under it portions of a skeleton were found, and in the adjoining field an immense number of stone coffins.

The Standing Stone of Benshie, in Forfarshire, was an obelisk of great size (now destroyed). Under it was found an urn containing human bones and ashes.

Under a stone, formerly erect, but now prostrate, near Sunderland House, in Argyleshire, were found two gold ornaments, one an armlet, the other of a semi-circular shape having the ends expanding into a cup shape, like those frequently found in Ireland.

In the parish of Killeen and Kilchenzie, in Argyleshire, are several obelisks, one of which measures sixteen

feet above ground. A grave is described as being at the base of this pillar, and all are stated to be sepulchral in the statistical account of the parish.

At Lundin, in Fifeshire, are three huge standing stones, near which ancient sepulchres are found.

Near Willfield on the Eden, in Fifeshire, formerly stood a large stone; on removing it a stone coffin was found under it.

At Clachan Ossian, in Glenalmond, Perthshire, is a great stone of square shape. It was removed when the road was made, and under it was found a cist containing ashes and burnt bones.

Wales furnishes us with but few examples of the stone pillars or Meini Hirion, nor are those she has remarkable for their size, especially as compared with the similar remains in Brittany, or Cornwall, and Cumberland; so that of all the countries occupied by the descendants of the Cymry, in proportion to its extent the Principality furnishes fewer and less striking examples of these early stone records. To make up, however, perhaps for this inferiority, Bardic writers describe various kinds of what they call Druidic stones: such as the Maen Tervyn (or boundary stone), the Maen Gobaith (or the guide stone), to the removal of which the penalty of death was affixed by Welsh laws;—*Maen-y-Brenhin* (the king's stone), to which public notices and proclamations were affixed;—*Maen pentan*, or *Maen pentan vaen*, explained as meaning *the back fire stone*, and used as a memorial of hereditary estates;—*Maen Odyn* (the kiln stone), answering the same purpose; and lastly, the *Esgynfaen*, or the horse block, alluded to in the Mabinogion; but as none of these are *known* to exist, and as their nomenclature and distinctive uses rest on authority of very doubtful nature, and as no similar traces or traditions of such distinctions are, or were ever, known in those countries which possess so many more numerous and more important monuments, at least coeval with the Druids, we may leave them out of the present consideration as being of too questionable a character.

The only remaining division of the so-called Druidic stones, as laid down by Bardic writers, is the *Maen hir* already mentioned, usually interpreted to mean *long stone*, "unless, indeed," (to use the words of one of the most strenuous advocates of the Druidism of the present day) "we give the word *Hir* the sense of longing or regret, as being the root of *Hiraeth*. In that case it might imply that the stone was a memorial of the dead." (*Arch. Camb.* New Series. Vol. i, p. 106.)

But the true history of these stones seems to be so far established on more satisfactory grounds that there is no need to avail ourselves of this new explanation of the word *Hir*; which if admitted to be the correct one, would be no unimportant confirmation that these stones are memorials of the dead and not connected with Druidic mysteries.

Having thus seen how large a proportion of these primæval monuments, hitherto known as Druidic, have been *proved* to have been sepulchral, how far are we warranted in assigning to the same class others whose real character have not yet been determined by the results of excavation, or by their similarity to those which have been already proved to have been sepulchral? If such a demand is rejected by the believers in bardic circles, in dracontian and Druidic sanctuaries and astronomical observatories, it does not seem unfair or unreasonable to call on them to produce any *known* example of the particular structure or monument they assert to be a sanctuary, or bardic circle, or observatory. Theories may be drawn up so as to suit any particular structure, which may be most satisfactory when applied to that one structure,—and how fruitful a parent has not Stonehenge been of such schemes, some of which are most ingenious and plausible?—but how far are such theories to be admitted, when we have no second or third example whereby we may test its application? History and tradition give no assistance; and until a certain number of similar facts can be ascertained, which by comparison may enable us to draw some kind

of conclusion—all these theories must be put down as simple conjectures, and taken at their proper value.

It may indeed, at present, be not allowed to affirm that *all* these existing monuments are sepulchral—but that the time may come, when such an assertion may not only be made, but be universally received, appears to be, considering the progress that has been of late years made in elucidating the real history of these memorials, a matter by no means improbable.

E. L. B.

Ruthin.

CONFIRMATION GRANT BY GEOFFREY, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, TO THE ABBOT AND MONKS OF ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER,

REGARDING CERTAIN POSSESSIONS OF THAT MONASTERY IN WALES.

UNIVERSIS sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Galfridus, divina permissione Menevensis Episcopus, salutem et benedictionem. Universitati vestre notum facimus quod nos, ad petitionem dilectorum fratrum nostrorum Abbatis et monachorum sancti Petri Gloucestr', attendentes eorum honestatem et religionem, inspectis eciam cartis donatorum suorum et confirmatorum, ex dono scilicet Bernardi de novo mercato, et confirmatione Rogeri Comitis, et Walteri de Hereford', ecclesiam sancti Kenedri in villa de Glasbr'¹ cum omnibus ovencionibus (*sic*) et oblationibus, terris et decimis, et omnibus ad

¹ Glasbury is a parish in Brecknockshire, on the Wye, about four miles from Hay, on the road to Brecon. St. Cynider of Glasbury is said to have been a grandson of Brychan of Brecknock, as stated in his life (Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 604). He was probably the ecclesiastic mentioned in the *Life of St. Cadoc*, and there named Keneder. (*Ibid.*, p. 340.) The confirmation charter of Stephen, A.D. 1138, makes mention of "Glasberiam apud Brechennio, cum terris et silvis," etc. (*Mon. Angl.*, i, p. 551.)

eam pertinentibus ex utraque parte Waie, tam de dominico quam de vilenagio; et insuper ex dono Ricardi de Clifford' decimam de omnibus assartis factis vel faciendis de dominico de Glasbr', et totam decimam molendinorum et anguillarum; ex dono autem Radulfi de Bufford', et confirmacione Milonis le Brut, totam decimam domini de Piperton¹ cum decima totius vilenagii ejusdem ville, et cum omnibus aliis rebus de quibus decime dari debent, et capellam ejusdem ville, cum omnibus oblationibus et consuetudinibus que matri ecclesie de Glasbr' parochiali jure debentur. Item ex dono Milonis le Brut duodecim acras terre quas dedit predictus Milo le Brut ad celebrand' divina ter in septimana in capella ibidem, per provisionem precentoris Gloucestr' qui pro tempore fuerit; et tres solidos percipiendos a priore et monachis de Brech' pro parrochia de Menelioch (?), et quatuor solidos percipiendos a priore et monachis de Clifford' pro decimis et oblationibus parrochie de Porthamal Pontichael,² sicut in transaccionibus hinc inde factis continetur. Item duas partes decimarum bladi de dominico de Talgard',³ et medietatem omnium minutarum decimarum, solo feno excepto quod ecclesia percipit. Ex dono Rogeri Comitis unam virgatam terre in eadem villa, et medietatem omnium decimarum provenientium de foresta de Werfinan, et totam decimam venationis ubicumque capta fuerit in predicta foresta, et decimam de omnibus assartis factis vel faciendis de dominico de Talgard'; et decimam domini de Brekenoc, illius scilicet terre que dicitur Wencorf, et totam decimam anguillarum absque alicujus participatione, scilicet de mara, quatuor eciam solidos, et unum porcum pinguem, sive duodecim denarios pro porco, quos filii Seissil Bras pro melle annuatim reddunt. Item confirmamus duas partes decime tocuis domini de Lanmeys ultra Uscam infra limites Ecclesie de Lanmeys,⁴ scilicet bladi et omnium de quibus decime debent dari; de quibus decimis lis aliquando

¹ The endowment charter of Henry VIII, by which the possessions of the monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester, were granted to John Wake-man, the first bishop, includes, "totam illam capellam nostram de Piperton in comitatu nostro Hereford." (*Mon. Angl.*, i, p. 557.) The place is now called Piperton Chapel, near the road from Brecon to Hay, and adjoining Glasbury.

² This name should possibly be read Pontithael. There is a village called Pont Ithel on the banks of the Llyfni, about five miles from Hay, on the road from Brecon.

³ Talgarth, a parish nine miles from Brecon, on the north-east.

⁴ Probably Llanvaes, the suburb of Brecon on the south, beyond the bridge over the Usk. Here is the Dominican house, afterwards called Christ's College.

mota fuit et contraversia inter monasterium sancti Petri Gloucestr' et Johannem tunc capellanum de Lanmeys, coram venerabili magistro domino Roberto tunc Herefordensi Episcopo, cui causa delegata fuit a domino papa, et possessio dicte decime de jure Abbati et monachis Gloucestr' adjudicata; ita tamen quod dictus Johannes capellanus in vita sua dictas decimas consideret, sub annua pensione duodecim denariorum monachis Gloucestr' infra octavas natalis domini apud Glasbur', dum vixerit, solvendum, pro decima de Lanmeys supradicta, et post obitum ejus memorata decima ad prefatos monachos absque aliqujus contradictione libere reverteretur. Item totam decimam totius occisionis domini de castello de Brekenoc a festo sancti Michaelis usque ad Natale Domini, sive sit ex proprio sive ex empto, seu quolibet alio modo acquisita fuerit. Item decimam totius venationis totius anni ubicumque capta fuerit in terra domini de Brekenoc, infra forestam vel extra, et decimam mellis; item medietatem omnium proventuum ecclesiasticorum provenientium ex foresta de Brekenoc. Item confirmamus eis medietatem ecclesie de Devannoc cum capellis,¹ et decimis ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus, dictis monachis, quoad omnes decimas que dari debent ecclesie, scilicet bladi, feni, petorum, agnorum, vitulorum, porcellorum, pannagii, caseorum, lane et lini, et medietatem decime herbagii vel ejus precii de tota predicta foresta, et omnium aliarum rerum de quibus decime dari debent. Item ex dono Radulphi de Baskevill' duos solidos et unum salmonem annuatim. Item ex dono Bernardi de novo mercato libertatem eundi ac redeundi, vendendi et emendi, et quietanciam ab omni theloneo et consuetudine, per totam terram de Brekenoc, hominibus predictorum monachorum et rebus eorum. Omnes eciam compositiones inter predictos monachos et alios, tam religiosos quam seculares sive ecclesiasticas personas, amicabiliter factas, ratas habemus, et eas episcopali auctoritate confirmamus. Omnes igitur prefatas possessiones predictorum monachorum, et res tam mobiles quam immobiles, cum libertatibus ad easdem pertinentibus, in episcopatu Menevensi constitutas, sub protectione Dei et Sancti David, et nostra, suscepimus, sub interminatione excommunicationis, districte inhibentes ne quis in aliquo molestiam aut gravamen, dampnum aut injuriam eis inde presumat inferre. Que omnia, ne processu temporis valeant infirmari, aut in oblivionem deduci, presenti scripto sigillo nostro munito duximus roborare. Hiis testibus, Osberno tunc capellano nostro canonico Lanton', Johanne priore

¹ Devynnock, or Devynoc, Brecknockshire, a parish situated about nine miles west of Brecon.

de Brekenoc, Magistro Waltero precentore nostro, Canigano capellano, David de lan Du, et multis aliis.

[Seal of dark green wax appended by a parchment label.]



The foregoing document is preserved in the Chapter Library at Gloucester, in one of the volumes recently bound up, and entitled *Seals and Deeds*. They contain miscellaneous evidences connected with the possessions and history of St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester. Among these I noticed, on the occasion of the meeting of the Archæological Institute in that city, the confirmation charter here printed from a transcript which I was permitted to make, in the hope that the document may prove of some interest to the Cambrian archæologist. I regret that, through want of local knowledge, I have been unable to identify many places therein mentioned, but they will doubtless be well known to the Brecknockshire antiquary. Geoffrey de Hennelawe, Bishop

of St. David's, by whom this confirmation was granted to the Abbot and monastery of Gloucester, succeeded Giraldus Cambrensis on his resignation in 1203. That learned ecclesiastic, it will be remembered, was elected bishop in June 1199, but the royal assent being withheld, he was not consecrated. Geoffrey had previously been Prior of Llanthony. He died in 1214. The seal and counterseal here given are not without interest. It is unusual to find the figure of a bishop thus repeated, with nearly the same legend, moreover, upon both, namely, + GAVFRIDVS : DEI : GRACIA : MENEVENSIS : EPISCOPVS, upon the larger seal; and + GAVFRIDVS : MENEVENSIS : EPISCOPVS, upon the smaller seal, or *secretum*. On both the prelate appears in full pontificals, the right hand raised in benediction, whilst the left grasps the pastoral staff. The chasuble is, on the former seal, decorated with a broad *parura* or orfray, which passes over the shoulders, and falls in front like a *pallium*, and is enriched with a large circular ornament bearing some resemblance to a morse. This, which is not of very usual occurrence, may have been intended to represent the *rationale*.

ALBERT WAY.

LLANDDERFEL, MERIONETHSHIRE: PAROCHIALIA.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES OR CHAPELS.

The Tycerrig religious house.—It is said by tradition that there was a kind of old chapel or priory at Tycerrig,¹ which is situated about fifty yards north-west by west of the church. It belonged probably to the Dominican friars. It was incrustcd in many places with beautifully carved oak, and was called "Tycerrig" (*stone house*) in opposition to the then *mud* cottages of the village and the surrounding neighbourhood. After its desertion by the friars it was converted into a barn and a farmhouse, which were pulled down about six years ago, owing to their ruinous condition, by the order of Lord Ward the proprietor, upon whose site he built a small but an elegant cottage.² In ploughing the field between St. Dervel's well and Tycerrig a few years ago, several earthen pipes were discovered, by means of which the water of the well was conducted into a large reservoir in the parlour of the priory, which was discovered when the house was pulled down.

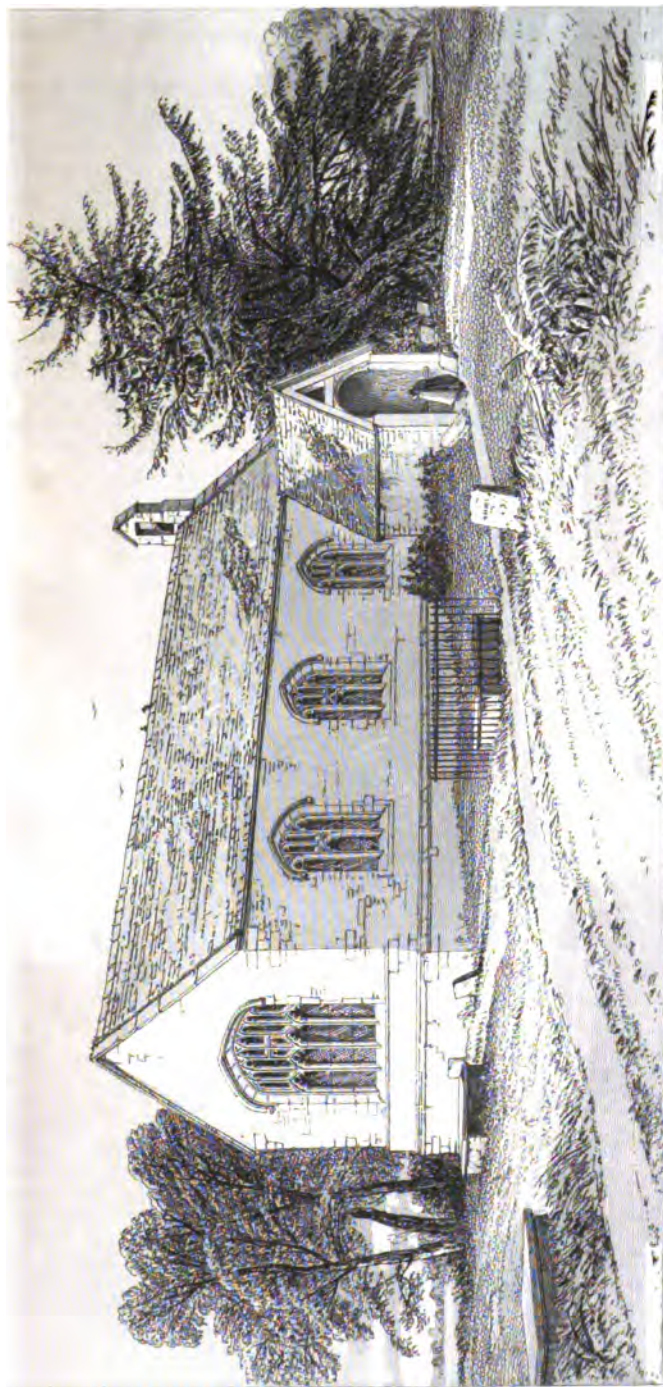
The Henblas religious house.—It is also handed down that there was a small monastery here, or a family chapel, at Henblas. There is in the barn, in good state of preservation, a screen made of oak, after the model of the one in the church. Traces of an eastern window can be seen in the wall.

The Crogen religious house.—It is said that there was another religious house at Crogen, which was pulled down by the late Belle Lloyd, Esq., who used the materials of it to build Tyddynllan, Llandrillo. The *window* of the monastery, or, perhaps, rather "family chapel" is now to be seen at Crogen (?).

The Bwlch Garneddog Chapel.—There was another chapel at Bwlch Garneddog, now called Tuhwnt-ir-ffordd. Mr. Edward Lhuyd says, "at Bwlch Garneddog there was, as they say, an old chapel." The site is still pointed out. A jug containing money made of leather, was found near the place about thirty years ago, and presented by the tenant to the Rev. J. Jones, at that time Rector of this parish, and afterwards

¹ There is "Ty-cerrig" at Llandrillo. It is said that Dd. ap Ievan ap Einion lived at Kogniarth, Llandrillo, who slew the Sheriff at Llandrillo. It belonged lately to Sir R. W. Vaughan, but at that time to Salusbury of Rug.

² This cottage is now (1858) in the occupation of Mr. William Pamplin of Soho, London.



W. H. R. R. R. R.

Humble Church

A. H. R. R. R. R.

Rector of Barmouth. The tenant had the idea, if he were to try to cultivate that plot of ground, he would be prevented by thunder and lightning, which he supposed would be occasioned by the angry spirits of the dead.

Llawr-y-Bettws Church.—Within Llanvawr parish, yet on the borders of this, there is, in a field belonging to Llawr-y-Bettws Isaf, a site of an old church called “Bettws,” where a good crop of corn¹ is now often obtained. It is said that one of the Lloyds of Gwern-y-Brychdwn was the last minister, and that a field was granted to him by his father, called “Erw Llwyd”² (Lloyd’s acre), locally situated in, and surrounded by, the late Sir R. W. Vaughan’s property, but owned by Sir W. W. Wynn (whose original stock, on a mother’s side, was the Lloyds of Gwern-y-Brychdwn). There is a small field near it called “Erw Geiniog” (the penny acre), which was probably let by the ancestors of Sir R. W. Vaughan, Bart., to the minister for the nominal sum of one penny a year of rent, in order to make good the right of property.³ It is said that it was first built (as well as other places bearing the name of “Bettws”) about the commencement of the wars of the Crusades, and was first established for some purposes connected with them; when the Rector of Llandderfel granted the great tithes of the township of *Nantfriar*, and the Rector of Llanvawr those of the township of *Llawr-y-Bettws*, for the support of the minister officiating in it. But ever since its demolition (which must have taken place before 1598, as the Registers of Llandderfel contain no notice of it), the great tithes of *both* townships have been appropriated to the vicarage and rectory of Llanvawr, although the *former* is locally situated in, and belongs to, the parish of Llandderfel. It is said that the minister lived at “*Tycerig*” Llawr-y-Bettws.

Bryn Pader,⁴ or the *Lord’s Prayer’s Hill*, partly in this and partly in Llanvawr parish, is so called from a custom the old people had of assembling there, some every morning and evening, to say the Lord’s Prayer (bowing towards the church of Llanvawr), and to drink out of some holy well not remote from the place.

¹ “Seges ubi ecclesia fuit.”

² “Bettws-y-Coed.” Tre Ddegwn belonging to Llanvawr. “By Cappel gynt mewn man a elwir Erw ‘r Capel.” (Ed. Lhuyd, circ. 1680.)

³ The brook that flows from Bethel to Dwyrdd (of which the English term “Druid” is here a corruption) is called “Nantfriar” (the friar’s brook), after which the township is named; which probably shews that “Llawr-y-Bettws” was a place of importance many centuries ago.

⁴ “Bryn-y-Pader, arverynt gynt ddywedyd i Pader pan dhvent gynta i olwg yr eglwys.” (Ed. Lhuyd, 1860.)

OLD MANSIONS.

Tyddyn-Inco.—So called, according to some, from Tyddyn-*“un-cae”* (a tenement of one field); according to others, from *“Inigo”* (Jones), because he lived there whilst superintending the construction of Llawrcilan bridge, which is very improbable. Perhaps the plans of the bridge were obtained from him, as it is exactly after the same model as Llanrwst bridge, which he erected.

Gwern-y-Brychdwn.—This old seat of the ancestors of Sir W. W. Wynn is situated in Tre Nantfriar; since converted into a farmhouse. About 1580, William Wynn, Esq., the son of Sir John Wynn of Gwydyr, married Jane, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lloyd, Esq., of Gwern-y-Brychdwn, from whom, in a direct line, the present Sir W. W. Wynn is descended. In the fifteenth century it must have been a great place of note, for in the 31st of the reign of Henry VI (1453) one of the inquisitions or sessions for the county of Merioneth was held here. The original roll runs thus:

“Coram Rinaldo de Broghdon, maior de Broghdon q. d. (qui dicunt) super sacramenta Rinaldi de Broghdon, Geffre Broghdon, Thome Broghdon, Lewis Broghdon, Morus Broughdon,¹ Thome Dove, Hugh Johnstone, Vivian Rulston, Thome Holland, John Holland, Gregory Broughdon, qui dicunt quod Owen ap David ap Llewellyn, Gent., de dominio Denbigh, nuper de Penyved,² Howell ap David ap Llewellyn, Gent., de eadem, Gronw ap David ap Llewellyn ap Owen, furat (*sic*) quatuor boves de bonis Llewellyn ap Dio ap David ap Einion, tenentis domini comoti de Penlhyn, David ap Tudor ap Joan ap Ithel garcio de Llangwm de dominio de Denbigh furat (*sic*) de bonis Ieuan ap Meredith de Nanlleidiog, Yoman,³ et quod Rhys ap Ieuan ap Howell garcio Deio ap Jorwerth ap Bleddyn garcio et Ieuan ap Llewellyn ap Thomas, garcio, furat (*sic*) bona Houell Tudyr o Hant⁴ tenentis domini regis, et ap Llewellyn

¹ One may think here that there were three brothers among the jury, which was not the case. Doubtless Broughton, or “Gwern-y-brychdwn” was a village this time. It has been a prevailing custom amongst the Welsh, from time immemorial, to be nominated after their places of residence.

² Penyved is near Pontyglyndiphwys. It is said by the common people that Owain Llawgoch (the red or bloody-handed Owain), who accompanied Jasper Tudor and Dai Llwyd Cwmbychan, near Dolgelley (ancestor of Miss Angharad Lloyd of Tynrhyl, whose sword she has), to the battle of Bosworth Field, was born near Gwernybrychdwn, and was the terror of the neighbourhood. Many battles were fought between Gwernybrychdwn and Pontyglyn. There is Llwyn Sant there (the place of refuge of the friars, etc.).

³ Nanlleidiog is a township belonging to Llanvawr.

⁴ Probably Holland.

ap Tudyr de Ciltalgarth¹ cepit bona Grono ap Tudyr ap Grono."

There was a famous old mill then belonging to the comot. of Gwernybrychdwn (the vestiges of which still remain) called "Melin Benllyn" (the Penllyn mill).

*Crogen*² has been a place of great note. It was probably, in 1190, one of the seats of Owain Brogyntyn, as he was Lord of Dinmael and Edeyrnion. He had, by Maredd his wife, a son called Griffith (A.D. 1200), who succeeded him to *half* Edeyrnion, and who very probably occupied Crogen, as from him derived,—1, the Barons of Crogen and Branas; 2, the Barons of Hendwr; 3, Bleddyn, Lord of Dinmael, the ancestor of the Lords of Rug in Edeyrnion. Griffith ap Rhys (ap Edryd ap Nathan ap Iorwerth ap Iapheth ap Kardwedd ap Marchudd ap Cynan, founder, in 847, of the eighth noble tribe of North Wales) of Crogen in Edeyrnion, and Branas, the fourth Baron of Crogen, married Agnes daughter of Howell ap Griffith, Lord of Rhos and Rhuvionawg. Rhys ap Ievan, Baron of Crogen in Edeyrnion, was the ancestor of many noble families: the Hugheses of Gwerclas, the Hendwrs, the Lloyds of Crogen, Paley, Lloyds of Mostyn, Lloyds of Diserth, Pughes of Cefny-Gartheg, Conways of Bryneuryn, Conways of Nant and Bodrhyddan, Conways of Dolycrethan, Wynnes of Glynllifon, Vaughan of Rug, etc. Lord Willoughby de Eresby, a direct descendant from Iorwerth Drwyndwn, was the proprietor of Crogen in 1697. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydyr, Bart.; succeeded his father as Lord Lindsey, in 1701; was in 1706 advanced to the Marquissate of Lindsey; and was created, in 1715, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven. A plot of ground near Llandderfel bridge is now called the "Duke's Acre" or field, after him.

¹ Llanfawr.

² Some maintain that "Crogen" is another form of "cragen" (a shell), on account of its appearing like a shell on the shore, when it is almost surrounded by the overflowing of the Dee. A Welsh poet in this neighbourhood was of this opinion when he composed the following:

"Crogen gynt meddynt i mi—yr henwyd
'Nol'r hanes sydd i ni
Oran yr afon ffrwythlon ffrî
Donog sy gaer am dani."

Others say it is derived from "crogi" (to hang), vid. Powell's *Hist. of Wales*, under Owain Gwynedd. Others from "grog" (a gill). It has been said that there was formerly a monastic house at Crogen. It may be therefore derived from "crôg" (the cross), an edifice bearing the sign of the cross,—akin to "Valle Crucis Abbey." Yorke says that Bryny-Crogon, near Dinmael near Llandderfel, was so called from the circumstance of its being a place where malefactors were hung.

Garthlwyd was, in the fifteenth century, the seat of a county family of the name of Watkins. In 1619, Mr. Meurick, the heir of Ucheldref, near Corwen, married Grace, daughter and heiress of Cadwalladr Watkin, Esq., of Garthlwyd. He was High Sheriff for Merionethshire in 1633; and his signature, with that of W. Wynn, Esq., of Gwernybrychdwn, is attached to the Bulkeley MS., praying Charles I to allow free trade, etc., in Merionethshire.

R. JENNINGS.

Obituary.

THE EARL OF CAWDOR.—Our Association, as well as the whole Principality, has sustained a severe loss by the death of the Earl of Cawdor, who expired at Stackpole Court on the 7th of November, 1860, being the eve of the completion of his 70th year.

The graceful courtesy and ability with which his Lordship presided at the Association's meeting at Tenby in 1851, and the cordiality and vigour with which he brought the various acquirements of his cultivated mind to bear upon the many objects of interest which presented themselves on that occasion, and at the meeting held at Llandilo, under the presidency of Lord Dynevor, in 1855, will long be gratefully remembered.

Those persons who live in, or may visit, Pembrokeshire, and Carmarthenshire, will there find enduring monuments of the deceased nobleman's munificence and taste in the numerous churches which he has rebuilt, or restored; while the care bestowed in the preservation of the various remains of military architecture, which adorn almost every corner of his extensive possessions in the latter county, affords one among many proofs of the sense he entertained of the responsibilities attendant on property and exalted station.

But it is not as an archæologist only, or chiefly, that the late Lord Cawdor's countrymen will honour his memory. 'An anxious desire to improve, in every respect, the condition of the Principality of Wales,' was the ever present motive of his life; and no public measure calculated to contribute to that end has been brought forward during the last forty years, which has not received his most efficient help. Among these we will only mention two. First, those provisions of the statute of 1830, by which the twelve counties of Wales and the county palatine of Chester were admitted within the pale of the English Judicature, and the Courts of Great Session abolished. Second, the South Wales Highway Act. How ably and perseveringly Lord Cawdor advocated the former measure may be seen in his letter to Lord Lyndhurst [Ridgway, 1828], in an early page of which the

words we have quoted above will be found. Of the second enactment mentioned, we will only say that, as amended last year, it will probably prove a model for a similar measure to embrace North Wales and England.

Of the deceased nobleman, as a landlord, a neighbour, and a promoter of the education of the poor, it is not our province to speak; but we know that the remembrance of his many private virtues will ever be cherished in the hearts of those, who lived within the sphere of their influence.

An interesting account of the ancestry of the family is given in Mr. Innes's *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, lately presented to the Spalding Club. This volume is a valuable contribution towards illustrating the manner of life, domestic habits, and progress of the people of Scotland during a considerable portion of their history. It contains a selection of original documents, dated from 1236 to 1716. In 1689 the eldest son of the then Thane married the heiress of Stackpole. Among the personal histories of his predecessors, not the least interesting seems to be that of Muriel, heiress of Cawdor, who, by marriage conveyed her Thanedom, in 1510, to Sir John Campbell, a younger son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE next Meeting will take place at Swansey, on Monday, August 26th, in this year, and will last throughout the week.

H. HUSSEY VIVIAN, Esq., M.P. for Glamorganshire, has been elected President of the Association for the year beginning at that date.

Members, intending to read or communicate papers on that occasion, are requested to give as early information as possible to the General or Local Secretaries; and no papers can be produced before the Association without formal notice previously given to the officers named above.

Further particulars will be announced in due time. Meanwhile members are referred to the Local Secretaries for Glamorganshire; G. GRANT FRANCIS, Esq., F.S.A.; M. MOGGRIDGE, Esq., F.G.S., Swansey; and Rev. J. GRIFFITH, M.A., Rectory, Merthyr Tydfil.

Correspondence.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The object of my former communication was to show that the Welsh are the veritable descendants of the Ancient Britons, who fought against Cæsar, and that their language agreed closely with that of the Ancient Gauls. Mr. Basil Jones has challenged an inquiry into the theory of the Cymry not being the first colonizers of Britain, and of which he is the able advocate. Edward Llwyd was the first who maintained that the Gaels preceded the Cymry in Wales; and he founded his opinion on what he considered the exclusively Gaelic names of places. Undoubtedly, if the Gaels had been the original inhabitants, most of the oldest names, which are those of mountains, headlands, seas, and rivers, must have been Gaelic and not Welsh. Such, however, is not the fact; and I have shown that every name propounded by Llwyd is pure Welsh, and what is more, I cannot find *one* real Irish name in the whole of North Wales. Llwyd has been the cause of so many ethnographers being led astray. Mr. Basil Jones has founded another argument on the circumstance of so many places being called after the Gwyddyl in Wales, but this does not at all prove that the Gaels were the first inhabitants. There are numerous places in Wales called after the Saeson, and with some trouble I believe that I could find as many in number as bear the name of Gwyddyl. The following occur to me now: *Bryn Saeson*, in Arvon; *Pant Saeson*, in Cardiganshire; *Pandy-rhiw-Saeson*, in Llanbrynmair. Now it appears to me equally logical to assert from this circumstance that the Saxons preceded the Cymry as that the Gwyddyl did. I am quite satisfied that the Irish Gwyddyl were interlopers, and invaded North Wales from Ireland, after the departure of the Romans; and I should refer to Mr. Basil Jones's Essay for the proofs furnished by the traditionary history of the Welsh. He has named Niebuhr, Arnold, and the two Thierry's as supporters of his theory; now the four are great men, and eminent historians, but upon this point their opinions are not of the least value. Until I am better advised, my belief is that the four were entirely ignorant of the Welsh and Irish languages, and obtained their information at second-hand, probably from Llwyd, and consequently they were perfectly unqualified to pronounce an opinion on the subject. Dr. Prichard's opinion is of much greater value. I had the honour of corresponding with him, and I feel assured that, had he lived to see Zeuss's important Grammar, he would have given up the theory as untenable. From a careful comparison of all the Gaelic and Cymric languages I had arrived at the

conclusion that the nations were more closely connected than is generally supposed; and the publication of the early Welsh and Irish authorities by Zeuss has proved my view to be the correct one. We have here philological proofs that the two languages agreed most closely in vocabulary, grammar and idiom, there being, in fact, little more than a dialectical difference between them. Now these go no higher than the eighth or ninth centuries; but they must necessarily lead to the conclusion, that some centuries previously the languages were identical, and that the early Gael and Cymry, call them by any name you please, were one and the same people, and consequently the Gael could not have *preceded* the Cymry in Britain. In the second part of my Celtic Dictionary, I have formed parallel tables of all the words common to two or more of the six Celtic dialects, so that the connexion will be immediately apparent, and the Comparative Grammar will give all the parallelisms by the side of the Cornish. There is one of the Erse dialects, the Manx, which furnishes many points of agreement with the Welsh, not to be found in Irish or Gaelic. It is much to be regretted that no one has yet published a proper dictionary of the Manx; Dr. Kelly left one in manuscript, and a society has been lately formed in the Isle of Man, which promises to print it; it ought to be their first work, as Cregeen's is a very meagre performance. The following rule from Kelly's Manx Grammar might have been taken from a Welsh one. "Y in the penultima, antepenultima, &c., is pronounced as *u* in the English turn, hunt, further, sturdy; or as *i* in bird, third; as *spyrryd, ymmyrchagh*. In the ultima, or monosyllables, as *i* in tin, skin, thin, trim (except these monosyllables, *y, ym, yn, gys, ayn, myn*, which sound *y* as in the penultima). The constant sound of *y* in the penultima, and its ordinary sound in the ultima, are both exemplified in the single word *sundry*." I will only add that my Dictionary will be put to press as soon as the copy can be written out for the printer.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A.

Rhydygroesau, Oswestry, November 29th, 1860.

RICHARD II IN WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In your journal for January 1858, I suggested, in reply to some remarks in a previous number, that Richard II might have disembarked, on his return from Ireland, in North Wales, and not at Milford; that the Barkloughly Castle of Shakespeare could be no other than Harlech Castle,—usually written, in the middle ages, Harddlech, Hardelaugh, Hardlough, etc. But a correspondent, signing himself "An Antiquary," in the number for October 1859, demurs to my conjecture, and cites the passage from the Metrical History to

shew that he landed at Milford ; and that the expression, *au point de jour*, meant nothing more than that the king arrived at Conway in the morning, and not at night.

A very natural inference if the landingplace really was Milford,—good hundred and fifty miles from Conway,—but what does the paragraph in question say ? I translate the last four lines word for word :

“So rode the king without making noise,
That at Conway, where there is much slate
On the houses, he arrived, with scarce a pause,
At break of day.”

Creton, the author of the *Metrical History*, was a French nobleman, a stranger to the country. He had left Richard in Ireland, and accompanied the Earl of Salisbury to Conway. What he wrote, was therefore from hearsay. Was it likely that the king would land at the southernmost point of Wales, when his object was to join Salisbury at the northernmost point ? Bolingbroke had vast possessions in South Wales and the Marches, which he inherited from his mother, Mary Bohun, Countess of Hereford. Richard's great strength lay in North Wales and in Cheshire. By running from Waterford or Wexford, where he is supposed to have embarked, straight into Cardigan Bay, and landing on the coast of Merionethshire, he was at once within a few hours march of Conway ; and he thus avoided the perils of a voyage around Holyhead, and the danger and delay of a long march through the whole length of Wales.

Creton says he landed at Milford ; and the old English historians, Hollinshed and Stowe, have followed him. But what say other MSS. equally worthy of credit ?

The Rev. J. Endell Tyler, in commenting on the fall of Richard II, in his able work the *Memoirs of Henry the Fifth*,¹ has the following observations, which bear strongly upon my conjectures. They are to be found in a note to the Appendix at the end of vol. ii, p. 430 : “The monk of Evesham, whose work bears every mark of being the genuine production of one who witnessed Henry IV's expedition to Wales, records accurately what came within his own knowledge ; like the author of the Sloane MS., in this part borrowed from some common document (probably more than one), for in some points they vary from each other in a way best reconciled by that supposition. Thus, whilst the Sloane MS. tells us that Richard II, on his landing, came

¹ *Henry of Monmouth ; or Memoirs of the Life and Character of Henry the Fifth as Prince of Wales and King of England*. Bentley, 1838. A work of great research, and extremely interesting to any one curious about the history of Owen Glyndwr, whose character and conduct are placed in an entirely new and most favourable light as regards his absence from “the bloody field by Shrewsbury” ; for he clearly shews that Hotspur's rising was sudden and unexpected, and that a few days only before the fatal battle, Owen was in the very extremity of South Wales, engaged in attempts to reduce the enemy's garrisons, and crush his powers, in those quarters, with a prospect before him of much similar employment in a service of great danger to himself.

to *Cardech*, from which he started for Conway, the monk (not differing from him in other points) says that he came to the castle of *Hertlowli*. They both have fallen into the same error of making the Earl of Salisbury accompany Richard. He had been undoubtedly sent on before from Dublin to Conway."

Cardech and *Hertlowli* are one and the same place, and no other than *Harlech*,—the apparent variation or difference arose, doubtless, from the difficulty of comprehending the pronunciation of a Welsh name, and the proper mode of spelling it, by the authors of the respective MSS.; to say nothing of the errors of copyists in transcribing the MSS. The first word is *Hardech*, meaning *Harddlech*; the second, *Hertlowh*, or rather *Hertlouch*. The capital H in the one being mistaken for C; the final stroke of the letter h at the end of the other being converted into i: hence "*Barkloughly*" in Shakespeare's *Life and Death of King Richard II.*

Harlech, as we all know, was one of the chain of fortresses built by Edward I. It stands on a commanding eminence overlooking the sea. It was connected with Caernarvon and Conway by military roads through the ancient forest of Snowdon. King Richard's companions were thirteen, according to Creton: some of them, no doubt, Welshmen well acquainted with the country; and it is said that Owen Glyndwr was of the number. The distance between *Harlech* and Conway is under forty miles,—a journey easily accomplished by experienced horsemen (and Richard was especially fond of horses) between midnight and sunrise in the middle of August.

I am, etc.,

GWILYM HUGHES.

Margate, 26 Sept. 1860.

THE REV. JOHN PARKER, M.A.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In recording the removal of my kind-hearted friend and neighbour, you have spoken of him in terms, which all who had the pleasure of knowing him, and they are very many, will heartily endorse. I think it desirable to add a few particulars to your notice. He was the second son of Thomas N. Parker, Esq., of Sweeney Hall, in the parish of Oswestry. His health was always delicate, even in his youth, which was the cause of his early removal from Eton. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, and was for a short time curate of Moreton Chapel, near Oswestry, where he was renowned for his charity, and attention to the poor, and when he left he was presented with a testimonial of the affection of his parishioners. He then became rector of Llanmerewig, in Montgomeryshire, where he continued until 1844, when he was presented, on the death of Dr. Donne, to the vicarage of Llanyblodwel, Salop. The church of Llanmerewig was greatly improved, and put in a perfect state of repair, chiefly, I believe,

at Mr. Parker's expense. During his residence at Llanyblodwel, he expended large sums of money upon the vicarage and grounds, in renovating and adorning a dilapidated church with consummate taste; in erecting a beautiful tower and spire, which alone cost nearly two thousand pounds; in building a new school and school-house, which will afford to rising generations a lasting monument of his noble generosity, and also of his admirable skill and taste in Gothic architecture. The total amount expended was near £10,000. His love for Wales was great, and it was on his return from Llanberis, that he had a relapse, which ended in his decease, August 13, 1860, at the age of 60. He was buried in Llanyblodwel churchyard, and *circumspice* might appropriately be engraved on his tombstone. As his eldest brother had died long before his parents, Mr. Parker succeeded to the family estates, which, as he was never married, have now passed to his sister, the lady of Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., M.P. for South Shropshire. The only work of any length that he published, to the best of my recollection, is entitled "The Passengers," descriptive of a tour through North Wales, which, as may well be imagined from his pen, is very interesting, and gives us a photograph of his admiration of Gothic art. It was first published in the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine, in 1849, and afterwards in an 8vo volume.

R. W.

Nov. 1, 1860.

[It is stated that Mr. Parker was of Oriel College, Oxford, in an admirable article on our deceased friend in a recent number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. We envy the author of that article both his feelings and his powers.—ED. *Arch. Camb.*]

WELSH ANTIQUARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I read with interest part of a treatise on the military architecture of Wales in the 24th number of the *Arch. Camb.*, p. 294. It is therefore not without reluctance that I address you upon the tone, as regards the inhabitants of Wales, which pervades some portion of that article.

It is perfectly true that the Norman knights were successful in the vale of Glamorgan, but when the author of the treatise writes that it was won by the Norman sword, it would not have been altogether unjust to have added that the aid of a powerful native chief contributed greatly to its success; nor would it have been otherwise than fair, in addition to the correct statement, that our mountains afforded natural defences to the inhabitants, to have given a little credit to the courage and patriotism of the few, who so frequently resisted the invasion of more numerous and better disciplined forces; nor would it have been unconnected with the subject.

But such omissions might have passed unnoticed, had not the author more prominently disclosed his contempt for the inhabitants of the Principality in the following passage in relation to church towers:—"They have been described and discussed by Mr. Freeman with that mixture of antiquarian knowledge and good sense, which characterizes his writings, and which is by no means too common on the western banks of the Severn."

It may be truly stated that sound sense is not too common on any part of the globe, but no one who understands the conventional value of language can come to any other conclusion than that its intention, in this instance, is to convey to the world that the inhabitants of the Principality are gifted by Providence with but a small, if any, share of sound sense.

I should be amongst the last to raise an objection to such an imputation, if the subject of the article had been the physiology of the people during the present century, and the deduction had been based upon undeniable facts; but there is fair ground for complaint when the organ of the Association is made the vehicle of unfounded aspersions on the intellect of a people, by mere assertion, without the slightest evidence to support it; and more particularly is there reason for complaint, as this assertion is gratuitously thrust into an article wholly unconnected with the mental qualities of the people, and, as it seems to me, in any but a friendly spirit towards them.

I believe I am not incorrect in stating that, in all parts in which they have held their annual meetings, every facility has been afforded the members of the Association to render their researches successful; what little stores of the relics of olden time are in the possession of those within a reasonable distance from the places, where those meetings have been held, have been freely exposed to their investigation, and they have every where been greeted with warm and cordial hospitality; if this be true, it is as little creditable to the Association as it is pleasing to the inhabitants of the Principality, that they should be assailed in its organ in a manner similar to that which characterized the gratitude felt by the great English lexicographer of the last century for the hospitality of Scotland.

I am fully aware that it may be attempted to adduce this letter as one proof in favour of the truth of the imputation of which I complain; but although I have a sincere wish for the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, as a periodical of great antiquarian value, I shall not hesitate, at any time, to resist any ill-natured attack—in this instance, in my opinion, unmerited, certainly irrelevant to the subject, upon the general character or intellect of my countrymen, which I may discover in its pages, or to expose myself to the sneer or ridicule of the cosmopolite, for that love of my native land, which I am not ashamed to confess.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN JOHNES.

Dolaucothy, Llandilo, Oct. 22, 1860.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—It is not always that archæological controversialists have occasion to compliment each other on the score of courtesy and forbearance: and it is therefore gratifying to find Mr. Salusbury Milman giving me credit for doing no more than appreciate the admirable tone and temper of his able and interesting communications on *The Political Geography of Wales*. I may, indeed, congratulate the Association, and yourself in particular, on the absence of acrimony from the pages of our journal; many important discussions have been carried on in them; many subjects, that might have given rise to much heat of blood, have been treated of at our annual meetings; but, on the whole, our Association has been enviably distinguished by the good temper and logical fairness of its members; and hence, as from no inconsiderable cause, has come the great amount of sound archæological work which the Association has effected. Men of science and men of truth can never conduct their arguments with too much courtesy and moderation.

I wish that other members could be induced to consider and reply to Mr. Milman's arguments: possibly they may: meantime, without any desire of prolonging a controversy, in which I feel that I have little more to say, I will trespass on your space with the following remarks in reply to my opponent's letter.

(1.) The phrase in Mr. Milman's paper, which I consider as assuming the solution of the controversy about the southern termination of Offa's Dyke, is the following: "The southern portion of the Dyke accompanies, and sometimes appears to coincide with, the lower course of the Wye." Now the Dyke comes down upon the Wye perpendicularly to the line of that river's course at Bridge Sollers, in Herefordshire, and I believe that from this point to Sedbury on the Severn, where Dr. Ormerod fixes its extreme southern end, the determination of the line is still a subject of controversy. I know of at least three distinct opinions held by antiquaries upon the matter, and, with all respect for Mr. Milman, I cannot but remind members that this part of the boundary—which is of no small importance with regard to the Monmouthshire question—is still open to discussion. If ever our Association shall meet at Hereford (and may I be pardoned for suggesting that this city has certain claims upon us), this determining of the southernmost part of the Dyke would form an appropriate subject of visit during the excursions, and of argument at the evening meetings.

(2.) Mr. Milman says in his letter, vol. vi, p. 329: "The four shires, the Marches of Wales," were Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester. I do not think that Gloucestershire can be fairly called a March county, and I am not aware of the authority on which Worcestershire is here added to the list; but I am writing without having *The Statutes at large* before me, and must therefore content myself with

a vague demurrer. In my own opinion there were only three counties which could properly be called March counties, viz., Salop, Hereford, and Monmouth; but this is a point of strict legal definition. It cannot upset the wording of 34 Hen. VIII, par. ii.

(3.) Mr. Milman admits that, as far as the *legal* part of the question is concerned, the position assumed, first of all by Mr. Morgan, of Aberystwith, and subsequently by myself, is maintainable; and that Wales, in a legal sense, consists only of twelve counties, and had so consisted ever since the passing of 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1542-7. I am quite willing to leave the question in this state, for I have asserted nothing more. My argument is, that legally Wales consists of twelve counties, and that Monmouthshire is not one of them.

(4.) If, however, we open the question of what is Wales historically and socially, then the controversy will assume a totally different aspect, and will extend itself widely. I should not be unwilling to enter into such a discussion with such a candid opponent, but I could wish that some member really well acquainted with the local history of the Marches would first of all thoroughly investigate the subject—I mean as fully as Mr. Milman has done—and then would join issue with him upon it. It must suffice for the present if I state my opinion that “Historical Wales” will lose in area more than it will gain, by claiming Monmouthshire—or rather parts of that county (for I do not suppose that Mr. Milman contends for the *whole*) as included in its territory.

(5.) I may here mention what one of our members stated to me a short time since, that when lately conversing with a Welsh antiquary, well known for the judicial position he holds in the principality, upon the subject of this very controversy, that gentlemen said he considered the moot point set at rest, because the act 34 Henry VIII stated that Wales consisted of *thirteen* shires, since it contained the words *over and besides the shire of Monmouth*. It is quite sufficient to refer anybody to the act, as quoted verbatim by myself in my last letter, to show the incorrectness of this opinion, and the looseness with which bystanders, even of authority, treat such a question; and I would venture to suggest to Mr. Milman that there is another gentleman of his acquaintance, one of legal distinction in the very county in dispute, who is peculiarly fitted, from his dispassionate character and clearness of professional view, to handle a disputed point like this, and even to set it at rest. He is a member of our Association, and his opinion would be received with great deference by all his archaeological brethren. As I hinted in my former letter, Mr. Milman has broached a point upon which much sham “patriotism” may be brought to bear—not in our pages—*absit omen!* But, inasmuch as it is really and essentially one of law and statutory history it ought in truth to be treated of and decided by one who, like himself, is a member of the Bar—instead of by (with all respect to other members) only

AN ANTIQUARY.

EARLY BRITISH CIRCLES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—It is well known that our uncultivated uplands throughout the Principality, abound with circles of various dimensions and characters. These are usually formed of stones, of greater or less dimensions, placed at intervals apart, and are sometimes claimed as Bardic circles by a certain school. They are also found, not unfrequently, consisting of the remains of a low wall of dry masonry or earth. In both cases these circles are easily to be distinguished from the foundations of the circular houses, usually known in Wales as *Cyttiau*. Sometimes both kinds of circle, namely, that formed of stones placed at intervals, and that formed of a low bank of stonework or earth, are united in a single example, as illustrated by the fine circle of *Meinihirion*, on the *Dwygyfylchi* mountain, visited by some members of the association last August.

On comparing our Welsh examples with those of Scotland and Ireland, we are led to believe that the now-generally received opinion of their sepulchral character is the correct one. Sometimes a circle surrounded a single grave, which has long since disappeared, though its enclosure still remains. Sometimes, especially if the circle be of larger dimensions than usual, we find that several interments have taken place, as illustrated by the discovery made in 1821 on the farm of *Llysdu*, by the Roman Road leading towards *Dolbenmaen*.

Within a circular space of 5 yards in diameter, and which appears to have been surrounded with a low stone wall, were found ten urns, full of bones and ashes, each having its mouth covered with a small slab. The urns were also protected from external pressure by flat stones, forming a kind of *cistfaen* of four sides to each urn. The urns themselves had apparently been originally buried beneath the ground, and were brought to light by the agency of the plough, no suspicion having previously been entertained of their existence. If one large or several smaller tumuli had originally covered these urns, all tradition of their existence had long since been lost, and it was only the accidental discovery of the deposit that furnished the key to the intent and nature of the circular enclosure.

I believe the same solution is the correct one for the large majority of these circles, although no actual deposits may be discovered, as in the case of *Llysdu*. The question is one now occupying the attention of some of our most distinguished Scottish antiquaries, who have already thrown so much light on the question that there are even some bold spirits of the present day, who do not despair of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, that even the circles of mysterious Stonehenge form merely the precincts of some unusually important cemetery.

Have the facts of circular enclosures around primitive graves been taken sufficiently into consideration as an established rule?

ARVONENSIS.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Quære 106.—CREMATION OF THE DEAD. On what authority do certain French archæologists lay down the rule that cremation of the dead ceased to be practised before the commencement of the third century? If there is any authority for such a statement, to what countries of Europe does it apply?

INVESTIGATOR.

Quære 107.—WHITE STONES IN GRAVES. Some time since it was stated that in a church or a churchyard in Anglesey, several skeletons were lately found interred, on the breast of each of which a white stone of the form and size of an egg was placed.

Can any gentleman of the island give any information as to the name of the locality in question—the particular circumstances of the discovery—whether these interments appeared to be of considerable antiquity—or whether the custom of placing these stones in such positions is a singular local custom?

M. D.

Note 57.—WHITEWASH. On travelling this summer through South Wales I was particularly struck with the almost universal habit of whitewashing not merely the walls but the roofs of their cottages. On making inquiries as to the reason of this practice, I could learn little, except that it was a very ancient one, and that “Morganwg muriau gwynion” are mentioned in Welsh poetry of the middle of the 15th century.

Strutt, however, seems to give us a much earlier authority for the custom, in quoting Diodorus Siculus, who states that the Britons washed their houses with chalk (Chronicle of England, p. 254).

TOURIST.

Quære 108.—PAINTED GLASS. In Llangystenin Church, near Conway, formerly existed some interesting painted glass, presenting figures of St. Peter, St. Catharine, the Day of Judgment, &c., &c. Will any member, who resides *convenient*, have the kindness to inform me, through the pages of Archæologia Cambrensis, if this glass still exists, and if so, in what condition?

A MEMBER.

Note 58.—SEFULCHRAL CHAMBERS. During one of the excursions at the Bangor meeting it was noticed that the gallery leading to the sepulchral chamber, on the farm of Bryncelli, ran east and west. The same direction appears to have been also followed by the

galleries, which probably once formed parts of the Plas-newydd Cromlechs. A third chamber, visited on the same day, was in too mutilated a condition to enable any opinion to be formed, not only of the direction of a gallery, but even of its existence. There are, however, several other examples of this kind existing in Anglesey; and it would be desirable to ascertain if traces of galleries still remain, and if so, whether they follow the same direction, namely, east and west? It does not appear to be a fixed law that every sepulchral chamber had a gallery, but there is little doubt many had such appendages which have long since vanished, the stones of which they are composed being, from their smaller dimensions, more easily removed. When the monument is not very much dilapidated, it is not difficult to determine whether such galleries or passages have existed or not, and when they have existed, it is important to determine the direction. It would be no less desirable to ascertain whether the same law holds good in Scotland and Ireland; for in the numerous examples remaining in France, it has been ascertained that such is the constant orientation of these passages. The fact that the only two opportunities I had of testing the rule (on the day of the excursion alluded to), confirmed what I believe to be the general rule, seems to me of sufficient interest to warrant my drawing the attention of our members to the question in the column of Notes and Queries.

AN EXCURSIONIST.

Miscellaneous Notices.

BRECON, ST. JOHN'S PRIORY CHURCH.—In our last number we announced that the Marquis Camden had undertaken to restore the chancel of this venerable church at his sole cost, on condition that a sufficient sum were raised by public subscription to restore the tower and transepts. We have now the great satisfaction of informing our readers that this generous offer has been liberally responded to. A large and influential public meeting was held in Brecon last October, presided over by the Bishop of St. David's, where the Marquis Camden renewed his proposal, and upwards of £1,050 were subscribed in the room. Mr. Gilbert G. Scott stated at the meeting that £2,000 would be required to restore the tower and transepts. More than that sum has already been promised, and we understand that it is in contemplation to commence the works early in the ensuing spring. The spacious nave, however, with its aisles, will still remain to be restored, and for this purpose an additional sum of £2,000 will be needed. A few subscriptions, we are informed, have already been promised towards this object, and as it is a work which appeals forcibly to all interested in the faithful preservation of our national monuments, we cannot doubt of its fulfilment. We would call atten-

tion to the circulars from the Vicar of Brecon attached to our present number.

THE TOWN HALL, HEREFORD.—The ancient Town Hall of this city has been recently demolished by order of the mayor and corporation. It had once been amongst the finest specimens of timber work in England, but during the last century it had been greatly injured in the upper portion, and had thus lost much of its distinctive character: the lower portion, however, remained nearly in its original condition, and constituted a magnificent open arcade of the sixteenth century. In a future number we intend publishing an account of this building with illustrations; for the present we content ourselves with recording this perpetration of one of the most stupid acts of vandalism which has disgraced any municipality, however Bæotian. It is said that the materials were sold to a contractor for £200: if so, he may easily realize a good profit upon them, for they would constitute the framework of an admirable dwelling house, and would readily meet with a discerning purchaser. It is also stated that the corporation intend erecting a modern Gothic clock tower on the site of this old building: we earnestly hope that they will succeed in setting up this monument of their own bad taste and want of respect for the architectural antiquities of their city.

Reviews.

BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; OR THE CHRONICLE OF THE PRINCES.
Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 1 vol.
large 8vo. London, 1860.

In the great volume of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, published by the Record Commissioners in 1848, the "Ancient Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," edited by the late Mr. Aneurin Owen, under the general superintendence of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Sharpe, was printed as far as the year 1066. The system, upon which that invaluable volume was put forth, did not admit of any further portion being then printed, greatly to the regret of Welsh antiquaries: and it is with no small pleasure that we now find, not only this part of the Chronicle reprinted, but the remainder added to it, thus giving to the public the whole of this branch of Mr. Aneurin Owen's labours.

In this, our first notice of so important a publication, we are not going to touch upon the contents of the Chronicle itself—an occupation for future days; but we shall confine our observations to the manner of its being laid before the learned world. This Chronicle, indeed, in its present form, added to the other publications of Mr. Aneurin Owen, the *Annales Cambriæ*, and the *Laws of Howel Dda*

(his improved edition of Wotton's *Leges Cambriæ*) forms the true basis of all Welsh history; while the whole volume of the *Monumenta Historica*, with the numerous historical publications now coming out under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, will at length give us sure and authentic bases, on which to reconstruct the history of Wales and England.

Mr. Petrie, one of the most learned men of this country, was peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of the best Welsh antiquary of the same epoch. No Welsh archæologist since the days of Edward Lhwyd has appeared superior to Aneurin Owen. He was employed by the Record Commissioners for the Welsh part of their labours, and he *exhausted* the subject. We look into his *reliquiæ*, we test his accuracy, we go over his ground: it is all done, it is all correct; we have all that we want, as far as the state of archæological research extended at the date of Aneurin Owen's decease. His *magnum opus* is undoubtedly the *Laws of Howel Dda*: the two Chronicles, which he edited, are but *opuscula*: still they are of very great value, and they reflect the highest credit on his memory. He was admitted to the confidence of old Sir Robert Vaughan, and had access to the Hengwrt MSS., as well as to all other public and private libraries in Wales, with possibly one exception (that collection which nobody since Pennant has ever seen, we believe), and he was allowed to make transcripts of all the most important MSS. or to collate them at his full leisure.¹ Nobody has undertaken such a task since; and very few have been qualified for it. These transcripts were executed for the Record Commissioners, and are now in the custody of the Master of the Rolls. They were at one time lent to Sir Benjamin Hall for the use of the Welsh MSS. Society, as we learn by the following official list:—

"List of MSS. collected by Mr. A. Owen, delivered to Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart. (Chairman of the Society for the Publication of Ancient Welsh MSS.), by Mr. Thomas.

No. 1. Liber Landavensis.

2. Transcripts of Welsh Chronicles, 860 to Edward I, in two packets: one packet containing that portion of the Chronicle which has been printed in Mr. Petrie's first volume of the *Corpus Historicum*.

3. Welsh Chronicle compiled in Gwent, 1066 to 1196.

4. Welsh Chronicle of John of Brechva.

5. Genealogies of the Saints.

6. Historial Triads.

7. Graves of the Warriors.

8. Biography of Grufud, son of Cynan."

They were again transcribed by Mr. W. Rees, of Llandovery; and ultimately they were all returned to the Record Office, except the

¹ We refer to a remarkable letter of his published in the last volume of our Journal (p. 184), as deserving of special note in connexion with this review.

transcript of the *Achau'r Saint*, which was stated, in 1848, to be remaining in the hands of the late Rev. J. Rees, of Cascob, who needed it to complete the *Lives of the Saints*, which he afterwards published for the Welsh MSS. Society.

In the Introduction to the *Monumenta Historica*, there will be found a succinct and lucid statement of the value of the manuscripts from which the text of the *Chronicle of the Princes* was compiled; but students naturally wished for more extended expositions of the views and researches of the learned editor. In the present reprint of this Chronicle, with the completing portion added, we find at the commencement an introductory preface of fifty-seven pages, full of valuable information concerning the Chronicle itself, and the manuscripts from which it was compiled. On perusing the preface, however, two things immediately struck us: first, that the main points, the groundwork of the whole, were the same as in the *Monumenta Historica*: the next was that the names of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Aneurin Owen were never once alluded to throughout it. We then turned to the title-page, and observed that the volume purported to be edited by the Rev. John Williams, M.A. On examining the body of the work we found, as we hoped, that the text of the great volume and of Aneurin Owen's transcripts had been simply reproduced, with a trifling verbal alteration in certain sentences, of which more hereafter: the translation, too, was identical with that of Aneurin Owen: still it occurred to us as something unusual in the practice of the literary, still more of the learned, world, that no mention should be made of the labours of preceding authors. A more careful examination of the preface, which, in the absence of any express declaration we took for granted was written by the editor—as, indeed, is usual in most books—showed us that it might be divided into two parts: one, at the commencement, filling fourteen pages with an irrelevant discussion of the triads, and some notes of little value; and another, which struck us still more forcibly on this second examination, was an amplification of the introductory remarks of the *Monumenta Historica*—full of good matter, and such as must have been, in the main, the work of an excellent scholar and antiquary. In reading this portion it was as though the ghost of our deceased friend, Aneurin Owen, were haunting us throughout; still we thought that the Master of the Rolls had been somewhat negligent, or forgetful, in allowing a preface of this kind to appear under his sanction, in which the labours of a former officer of the Record Commission were unmentioned, and, in fact, ignored. This new preface, if it meant anything, must be carried to the credit, either of the present editor, or of the high legal functionary by whose authority he had acted: still how could it be that no acknowledgment of the researches of other men should be made in it?

The puzzle was soon explained. On referring to the original papers of Aneurin Owen, we found his preface to the *Chronicles of the Princes* all ready written out, but never printed: and to shew in what degree the preface of this new edition is based on this unpublished one, without acknowledgment, we subjoin extracts in parallel columns.

We may previously mention that in p. xvi of the preface the notice there given of Nennius, and a note, are taken textually, without any reference or acknowledgment, from the Introduction to the *Monumenta Historica*; they are in Mr. Duffus Hardy's words, but his name is not mentioned in thus reproducing them.

We now come to the parallel passages, and, for the sake of distinction, we shall print those from the preface of this new edition in the left hand column, those from Mr. Aneurin Owen's unpublished manuscripts in the right hand one throughout; recommending readers, when perusing them, to observe the variations in words which have sometimes been introduced, we know not exactly for what purpose.

PRINTED PREFACE.

"The manuscript which differs so considerably from the others, was found in Glamorganshire, and has been published in the 'Myvyrian Archæology,' vol. ii. It professes to relate how 'wars and paramount occurrences, revenges and remarkable incidents took place; extracted from the old preserved records, and regularly dated by Caradog of Llancarvan.' From this heading we might expect satisfactory and conclusive grounds for pronouncing the work, or rather the former part of it, to be the genuine compilation of the historian of Llancarvan. The chronicle terminates in 1196; but here comes the difficulty, that no perceptible discrepancy enables us to trace the language of more than one writer. If, therefore, part is to be attributed to Caradog,—for it is not reasonable to suppose that he was the compiler of the whole,—a subsequent author has added an indefinite portion, not distinguishable from the prior part. The language, indeed, though modernized in its orthography, may well be considered as that of the twelfth century; which was, perhaps, the most resplendent period of Welsh literature. It may also be that of the sixteenth century, as in its orthographical form it undoubtedly is." (pp. xvii, xviii.)

ANEURIN OWEN'S MS.

"A manuscript found in Glamorganshire, which treats very fully of events in that part of South Wales,—for which reason it is styled, in this publication, 'The Gwentian Chronicle,'—differs considerably from the others. It professes to relate 'how wars, paramount occurrences, revenges, and remarkable incidents, took place: taken from the old preserved records, and regularly dated, by Caradog of Llancarvan.' From this heading we might expect satisfactory and conclusive grounds to determine the question. This compilation terminates in 1196, and no perceptible discrepancy enables us to trace the style of more than one writer: if, therefore, part is to be attributed to Caradog,—for it is not reasonable to suppose that he was the compiler of the whole,—a subsequent author has added an indefinite portion not distinguishable from the prior part; consequently this transcript is of no service in the furtherance of our investigation. The particular detail of events that took place in Glamorgan and Gwent, renders this chronicle very interesting; and the value of the information would be greatly enhanced, if we could be assured that the compilation took place, about the period at which it closes; or if we were acquainted with the sources from whence it was taken. The perusal of it, in its present form, would induce us to assign it to a comparatively late period, when we meet with such passages as that under 1114, where, narrating the death of Owain, son of Cadwgan, it remarks: 'So retribution was meted out to him for the mischief he did to the Welsh nation, more than was occasioned by the greatest traitor ever known; and with him commenced the Mawddwy banditti, who still continue to ravage the country far and near.' The atrocities of these outlaws are not matter of historical notice until the sixteenth century, when they massacred

PRINTED PREFACE.

"Another chronicle, already alluded to, bears the title of 'The Chronicle of Ieuan Brechva. A record of princes, battles, remarkable events, revenges, and other notable occurrences; taken from the books of Caradog of Llancarvan and other old books of information.' It differs in some instances from the other chronicles, but in general agrees with the preceding one. The notices are very meagre, and the whole work is evidently an abridgment.

"Ieuan Brechva, the author, flourished in the sixteenth century. He concludes the epitome under consideration with the year 1150; a fact which, in conjunction with the difference to be perceived in the copy just examined, leads to the supposition that this also was founded upon the same basis.

"Indeed, if this chronicle had professed to have been extracted from the works of Caradog alone, there could have been but little difficulty in the matter; but the mention of 'other old books of information' would indicate a certain amount of tampering with the original text of Caradog.

A chronicle, of which numerous copies of considerable antiquity are in existence, the most extensively diffused over Wales, and which must certainly have originated either from Strata Florida or Conway, demands attentive consideration. It has no proem, similar to the above, but immediately enters upon the subject, and the narrative is carried on in an uniform style to the year 1120. At this period a remarkable alteration is strikingly perceptible; the narrative of the events of the twenty years included between 1100 and 1120 occupies a space double to that devoted to the history of the period which elapsed between 1120 and 1164, the date of the foundation of the monastery of Strata Florida. The prior portion is written by a person favourable to the Normans, or fearful of giving offence to them. He remarks that 'William defended the kingdom of England in a great battle, with an invincible hand, and his most noble army' (p. 47); and died 'after a sufficiency of the glory and fame of this transient world, and after glorious victories and the honour acquired by riches' (p. 53). 'A.D. 1091, Rhys, son of Tewdwr, king of South Wales, was killed by the French, who inhabited Brecheiniog; and then fell the kingdom of the Britons'

ANEURIN OWEN'S MS.

Baron Owen, in 1555, for condemning some of their fellows in his judicial capacity; and the marked mention of them in this passage would seem to imply that it was written about that period."

"Another chronicle, or rather abridgment, bears the title of 'The Brut of John of Brechva. A record of princes, battles, remarkable events, revenges, and other notable occurrences; taken from the books of Caradog of Llancarvan, and other old books of information.' It differs in some instances from the other chronicles, but in general agrees with the preceding one. Decades only are entered in the computation, and the notices are very meagre.

"John of Brechva, the author, flourished about the sixteenth century, and concludes his epitome with the year 1150. If this chronicle had professed to have been extracted from the works of Caradog alone, it would greatly corroborate the truth of the *era* assigned to that historian. The mention of 'other old books of information' renders it doubtful whether such an inference could be considered indisputable.

"A chronicle, of which numerous copies of considerable antiquity are in existence, the most extensively diffused over Wales, and which must certainly have originated either from Strata Florida or Conway, demands attentive consideration. It has no proem similar to the above, but immediately enters upon the subject, and the narrative is carried on in an uniform style to the year 1120. At this period a remarkable alteration is strikingly perceptible: the narrative of the events of the twenty years included between 1100 and 1120, occupies a space double to that devoted to the history of the period which elapsed between 1120 and 1164, the date of the foundation of the monastery of Strata Florida. The prior portion is written by a person favourable to the Normans, or fearful of giving offence to them. He remarks that, 'William the Conqueror defended the kingdom of England in many a battle, and preserved it by his invincible arm and most noble army; and died 'after a sufficiency of glory and the praise of this transitory world; and after splendid victories and honorable riches.' '1090. Rye, son of Theodore, king of South Wales, was slain by the French resident in Brecheiniog; and so the empire of the Britons lapsed.'

PRINTED PREFACE.

(p. 55). About 1113, Gruffudd, son of Rhys, aspired to his father's possessions in South Wales, and at the commencement of his career destroyed some of the Norman castles. This success, according to the historian, incited 'many foolish young men from every part to join him, being deceived by the desire of spoils, or seeking to repair and restore the British kingdom. But the will of man does not avail anything unless God assists him' (p. 125). This has evident allusion to the transference of the 'British kingdom' to the English sovereigns on the death of Rhys, the father of Gruffudd, intimated before. He then narrates a successful expedition by Gruffudd against the garrison of the castle of Caermarthen and the castle of William de Londres in Gower. He observes, 'that as Solomon says, the spirit becomes elevated against the fall of man,' Gruffudd 'prepared, being swollen with pride, and with the presumption of the unruly rabble and the silly inhabitants, to arrange foolish expeditions from Dyfed into Ceredigion, and to take the part opposed to equity, being invited by Cedivor, son of Goronwy, and Howel, son of Idnerth, and Trahaiarn, son of Ithel, who were near in proximity of kindred and acquaintance, and who agreed that he should have dominion.' And above all, 'fearing to offend King Henry, the man who had subdued all the sovereigns of the isle of Britain by his power and authority, and who had subjugated many countries beyond sea under his rule, some by force and arms, others by innumerable gifts of gold and silver: the man with whom no one could strive but God alone, from Whom he obtained the power' (pp. 128, 129). He then describes the progress of Gruffudd in Ceredigion, and states 'that the men of the country, instigated by the devil, flocked to him suddenly, and as it were of one accord,' and spoiled and killed the Saxons there (p. 181). They then, 'without setting up standards, a villain host, like a company of people without counsel and without a commander, took their course towards the castle of Aberystwith,' where they were defeated (p. 133). King Henry then sent for Owain, son of Cadwgan, and addressed him: 'My most beloved Owain, art thou acquainted with that thief, Gruffudd, son of Rhys, who is like a fugitive before my commanders; for and because I believe thee to be a most loyal man to me, I will that thou be commander of an army with my son, to expel Gruffudd, son of Rhys; and I will make Llywarch, son of Trahaiarn, thy companion, because I place confidence in you two; and when

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And soon after William Rufus is styled 'king of the Britons.' About 1113, Gruffudd, son of Rys, aspired to his father's possessions in South Wales, and at the commencement of his career destroyed some of the Norman castles. This success, according to the historian, 'incited many young fools, from all parts, to join him; blinded by a thirst for booty, or idea of restoring the *British* kingdom, who made great ravages around them. But no attempt can prosper without God assists.' This has evident allusion to the transference of the 'British kingdom' to the English sovereigns, on the death of Rys the father of Gruffudd, intimated before. He then narrates a successful expedition by Rys against the garrison of the castle of Caermarthen and the castle of William de Londres in Gower. He observes that, 'as Solomon says the spirit is exalted before a downfall, Gruffudd, bloated with pride, the arrogance of the undisciplined people and infatuated race, meditated foolish expeditions from Dyfed into Ceredigion, contrary to all justice; and united with Cedivor and others distinguished for their mischief and lawlessness; and above all, setting at defiance King Henry, who had subdued all the potentates of the isle of Britain by his might and title, and subjugated many foreign countries to his dominion, some by the power of his arms, others by countless gifts of gold and silver: a man whom no one could subdue but God himself, who gave him the power.' He then describes the progress of Gruffudd in Ceredigion, and states that 'the people of the country, instigated by the devil, joined him without previous concert, and destroyed and spoiled the Saxons settled there. They then unwisely, like a villain host without standards, or any order, laid siege to Aberystwyth, where they were defeated. King Henry then sent for Owain, son of Cadwgan, and addressed him: 'My dearest Owain, you know that thief Gruffudd, who lurks about: as I am assured you are faithful to me, you shall, together with my son, head my army.' This arrangement is, however, rendered inoperative by Owain falling in with an army of Flemings, headed by Gerald, who kill him. Although the narrative is very diffuse, and the occurrences of each year detailed at great length, we find not the slightest allusion to the conquest of Glamorgan by Fitzhamon, or to the reverses which his successor, Robert earl of Gloucester, experienced when he attacked his *uncle* Gruffudd, or to this earl's capture by Ivor Petit, and constrained departure from Caerdyv, occasioned by the indignant

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thou returnest back I will properly reward thee' (p. 135). This arrangement is, however, rendered inoperative by Owain falling in with an army of Flemings, headed by Gerald, who kill him (p. 139).

"Although the narrative is very diffusive, and the occurrences of each year detailed at great length, we find not the slightest allusion to the conquest of Glamorgan by Fitzhamon, or to the reverses which his successor, Robert earl of Gloucester, experienced when he attacked his uncle Gruffudd; or to this earl's capture by Ivor Petit, and constrained departure from Cardiff, occasioned by the indignant resistance of the native population to the tyranny of their oppressors. These incidents, the latter of which a Welshman, truly attached to his country, would have exulted in relating, we are left to gather from other sources: the author of this work has omitted them." (pp. xxix-xxxii.)

"About 1120 another writer, or else the same writer under the influence of another spirit—for a bias is manifestly observable in favour of the Welsh—takes up the subject. Under 1124 we read that the same Gruffudd, previously so vituperated, was deprived of the land which the king had given him, 'after he had been innocently and undeservedly accused by the French' (p. 153). Some encomiastic expressions are generally applied to the Welsh princes at this period. Under 1129 we have a notice of the death of Maredudd, 'the ornament and safety and defence of all Powys, after undergoing salutary penance of his body and sanctity of repentance in his spirit, and the communion of the body of Christ, and extreme unction' (p. 157). These religious solemnities, mention of which is now for the first time introduced into the text, are henceforth repeatedly expressed to have taken place upon the demise of the princes of the three districts of the principality. In 1135, Owain and Cadwalader, the sons of Gruffudd, prince of North Wales, are said to be 'the ornament of all the Britons, their safety, their liberty, and their strength; men who were two noble and two generous kings, two dauntless ones; two brave lions; two blessed ones; two eloquent ones; two wise ones; protectors of the churches, and their champions; the defenders of the poor; the slayers of the foes; the pacifiers of the quarrelsome; the tamers of antagonists; the safest refuge to all who should flee to them; the men who were preeminent in energies of souls and bodies; and jointly upholding in unity the whole kingdom of the Britons' (p. 159). A battle which took place at Aberdovey,

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resistance of the native population to the tyranny of their oppressors. These incidents, which a Welshman attached to his countrymen would have exulted in relating, we are left to gather from other sources: the author of this work has omitted them."

"About 1120 another writer, apparently—for a bias is manifestly observable in favour of the Welsh—takes up the subject. Under 1124 we read that the same Gruffudd, previously so vituperated, was deprived of the land the king had bestowed upon him, being wrongfully accused by the French. Some encomiastic expressions are generally applied to the Welsh princes at this period. Under 1129 we have a notice of the death of Maredudd, 'the ornament and defender of Powys, having performed salutary penance for his body, expressed worthy repentance, and received the communion of the body of Christ and extreme unction. These ceremonies, mention of which is now first introduced into the text, are henceforth repeatedly expressed to have taken place upon the demise of the princes of the three districts of the principality. In 1135, Owain and Cadwaladr, the sons of Gruffudd prince of North Wales, are said to be 'the flower of all the Britons, their safety, liberty, and strength; men that were two honourable kings, two liberal and two fearless ones, two strong lions, two virtuous, two energetic, two wise ones; safeguards of the churches and their ministers, defenders of the poor, destroyers of the enemy, peacemakers of those disposed to strife, tamers of oppressors, the surest refuge of those who fled to them; men who excelled in the qualities of mind and body, and supporting in unity the whole kingdom of the Britons.' After relating the event of a battle in which it states that the Flemings and Normans fled after their customary manner, in 1136 it notices the death of Gruffudd, and styles him the light, strength, and courtesy, of the South Wales men."

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in the same year, is described, in which it is said, 'the Flemings and the Normans took to flight, according to their usual custom' (p. 161). In 1136, the writer notices the death of Gruffudd, and styles him 'the light and strength and gentleness of the men of South Wales' (p. 161). (pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.)

"We have already intimated that this chronicle must have come to us from either Conway or Strata Florida. In 'British Antiquities Revived,' by Mr. Robert Vaughan, we meet with quotations from a chronicle, styled by the illustrious author the Book of Conway. These excerpts are found in that which we are now considering. A great similarity in the productions of both establishments may be inferred from what Guttyan Owain says, namely, that the annalists of those two monasteries ordinarily compared their entries, one with the other, every three years. No copies which have descended to us, profess to be derived from either of those places, but the preponderance of internal evidence is in favour of a Strata Florida emanation.

"The reasons which have led us to consider it as having been derived from Strata Florida, have been the following. The prominent manner in which the foundation of the abbey is introduced to the reader: 'In that year (1164), by the permission of God and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, came a convent of monks first to Strata Florida' (p. 203); and the brief way in which we are informed that the establishment of Conway emanated from Strata Florida,—'In the same year (1186), about the month of July, the convent of Strata Florida, or a society from Strata Florida, went to Rhedynog Velen in Gwynedd' (p. 283). In the margin of the manuscript marked E., this place is stated to be 'Maenan,' to which the monks of Aberconway were removed by Edward I.—The number of local events narrated, interesting to the inmates, among which we may class the burials of twenty-two distinguished personages, including four abbots of the place; whereas the number of similar occurrences stated to have taken place at Conway, amounts to only five.—The mention of six abbots by name, one of whom Gruffudd, made his peace with King Henry, and compounded for his dues (p. 335). We find no mention of an abbot of Conway but once; that is to say, when the body of prince Gruffudd was delivered up to the abbots of Strata Florida and Conway, in London, and conveyed by them to Aberconway for burial (p. 335). We read: '1201, on the eve of Whitsunday, the monks of Strata Florida came to the new church, which had been erected of splen-

"In 'British Antiquities Revived,' by Mr. Robert Vaughan, we meet with quotations from a chronicle styled by the illustrious author, 'The Book of Conwy.' These excerpts are found in the chronicle which has been considered, in the sketch previously given, to have originated either from Strata Florida or Conwy. A great similarity in those productions may be inferred from Gutyn Owain, who says the annalists of those two monasteries ordinarily compared their entries every three years. No copies which have descended to us profess to be derived from either of those places; but the preponderance of internal evidence is in favour of a Strata Florida origin."

"The reasons influential in considering it to have emanated from Strata Florida, have been: the prominent manner in which the foundation of the abbey is introduced to the reader,—'1164. By the permission of God and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, a convent of monks first came to Strata Florida,'—and the brief way in which we are informed that the establishment of Conwy emanated from Strata Florida: '1186. A society from Strata Florida went to the Redynawo Velen in Gwynedd.' In the margin of the manuscript marked G., this place is stated to be 'Maenan,' to which the monks of Aberconwy were removed by Edward I. The expressions *came* and *went* are here very striking.—The number of local events narrated interesting to the residents; among which we may class the burials of twenty-two distinguished personages, including four abbots of the place: the number of similar occurrences stated to have taken place at Conwy amount only to five. The mention of six abbots by name, one of whom, Gruffudd, made his peace with King Henry, and compounded for his dues. We find no mention of an abbot of Conwy but once, when the body of Prince Gruffudd was delivered to the abbots of Strata Florida and Conwy, in London, and conveyed by them to Aberconwy for burial. We read: '1201. The community of Strata Florida went to their new church, a fabrick of elegant workmanship, on Whitsun eve.' 123.—Mention is made of the fealty sworn, by the chieftains of Wales, to David, son of Llywelyn, at S. F. 123.—

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did workmanship' (p. 257). Under 1238 mention is made of the fealty sworn by the chieftains of Wales to David, son of Llywelyn, at Strata Florida' (p. 527). Under 1254, we have the price of the great bell at Strata Florida; and 1280, the burning of the monastery. Many other entries might be adduced to exemplify the great interest taken in registering incidents which occurred at Strata Florida,—instances of which are rare in regard to Conway. The above have been selected as the most prominent, and elucidatory of the source of the work in its present form." (pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.)

"Powel, in the preface to his 'Historie of Cambria,' asserts the existence of upwards of a hundred copies of 'The Chronicle of the Princes,' 'whereof,' he says, 'the most part were written two hundred years ago,' that is, about 1384. Time has in the last two centuries and a half considerably lessened the number. Perhaps the assertion may have likewise been too unqualified; for it is evident that he did not accurately examine them, otherwise he would not have stated that these records ceased in 1270, most of those now remaining terminating in 1282; the events of the last twelve years being detailed at considerable length, which ought to have found a place in his compilation. 'The Chronicle of the Kings' at present occurs much more frequently in libraries than 'The Chronicle of the Princes'; and it is probable that this was the case at former periods, if we allow the proportion which obtains in the British Museum and Hengwrt Collections, where copies of the former greatly preponderate, to have been general. In the Museum we meet with no Chronicles of the Princes in the Welsh language, and but three Latin transcripts; at least such was the case a few years ago. Hengwrt library contains but three, and those Welsh, which is the number inserted in the catalogue of that collection, drawn up in the time of Mr. Robert Vaughan, the founder of it. The library of Gloddath, which has been unaffected by fluctuations, has three." (p. xxxix.)

"The work now presented to the public is that which we believe to have come to us from Strata Florida. The text of it, marked A., has been taken from the Red Book of Hergest, now preserved in the archives of Jesus College, Oxford." (p. xli.)

"This manuscript has been selected on account of its being entire, and written throughout in the same dialect, the Dimetian, as the majority of existing copies." (p. xli.)

"The manuscript marked B. is a small quarto volume on vellum, in the Hengwrt

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We have the price of the great bell at Strata Florida. 128.—The burning of the monastery. Many other entries might be adduced to exemplify the great interest taken in registering incidents which occurred at Strata Florida, examples of which are rare in regard to Conway. The above have been selected as the most prominent, and elucidatory of the source of the work."

"Powel, in the preface to his 'Historie of Cambria,' asserts the existence of upwards of a hundred copies of 'The Chronicle of the Princes.' Time has, in the last two centuries, considerably lessened the number, and they have become scarce. Perhaps the assertion may have likewise been too unqualified; for it is evident that he did not examine them, otherwise he would not have stated that these records ceased in 1270, most of those now remaining terminating in 1282; the events of the last twelve years being detailed at considerable length, and which ought to have found a place in his compilation. 'The Chronicle of the Kings' at present occurs much more frequently in libraries than 'The Chronicle of the Princes'; and it is probable this was the case at former periods, if we allow the proportion which obtains in the British Museum and Hengwrt collections, where copies of the former greatly preponderate, to have been general. In the Museum we meet with no Chronicles of the Princes in the Welsh language, and but three Latin transcripts. Hengwrt library contains but three, and those Welsh; which is the number inserted in the catalogue of that collection, drawn up in the time of Mr. Robert Vaughan, the founder of it. The library of Gloddath, which has been unaffected by fluctuations, has three."

"The text of this edition of 'The Chronicle of the Princes' is taken from the Red book of Hergest, now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. This manuscript has been selected for that purpose, on account of its being entire; written in the same dialect as the majority of existing copies, which is the Dimetian; and of considerable antiquity, as we cannot greatly err in dating it shortly after the year 1400."

"The manuscript marked A., collated with the Hergest book, is a small octavo

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library. It is imperfect at the commencement; but is the most correct of all the manuscripts, and written in purest Dime-tian dialect." (p. xlv.)

"C. is a Venedotian manuscript on vellum, agreeing in matter with the preceding, but totally differing in phraseology. The chronicle is carried down to 1282, at which period there is a break to mark the termination of the copy before the writer. The narrative is then continued to 1332. In addition to 'The Chronicle of the Princes' this volume contains a religious commentary, a Welsh grammar, and poetical institutes, with some Welsh poetry. It was written about the sixteenth century.

"The manuscript marked D. is a corrupted version of the preceding chronicle, amalgamated with 'The Annals of Winton,' in order to connect and detail contemporaneous occurrences in England and Wales. The portion devoted to Welsh events is very carelessly constructed, the facts being in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure. This manuscript is in the Cottonian collection at the British Museum, and is there marked Cleopatra, B. v. It is written on vellum, and may be ascribed to the latter end of the fifteenth century.

"Manuscript E. is a compilation of a similar character. It was written by the celebrated bard and herald Guttyñ Owain, and is styled in some catalogues, 'The Book of Basing,' on account of having been in the library of Basingwerk Abbey. The prior part of this manuscript contains an imperfect version of 'The Chronicle of the Kings,' written about the end of the fourteenth century: to supply the deficiency, Guttyñ Owain added the remainder from a dissimilar copy. It was this manuscript that the Rev. Peter Roberts adopted as the foundation for his publication of 'The Chronicle of the Kings,' and he considers it to be altogether a transcript by Guttyñ Owain. He remarks the great change in the style at the part alluded to; but did not notice the variation in the handwriting and orthography, which distinction is sufficiently obvious. Guttyñ Owain then adds 'The Chronicle of the Saxons,' enlarging the genealogical notices, and carries it down to 1461. This differs in diction from manuscript D., but very little in matter: both are taken from a common source, adapted by each writer to the idiom and literary language of his province. It is written on vellum, and is now in the possession of Thos. T. Griffiths, Esq., of Wrexham." (pp. xlv, xlv.)

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volume on vellum; it is imperfect at the commencement, and written in the Dime-tian dialect, about the same period as the preceding."

"W. is a Gwynethian manuscript on vellum, agreeing in matter with the preceding, but totally differing in phraseology; it contains, 'A Religious Treatise,' 'The Chronicle of the Princes,' 'A Welsh Grammar and Poetical Institutes,' written about the sixteenth century."

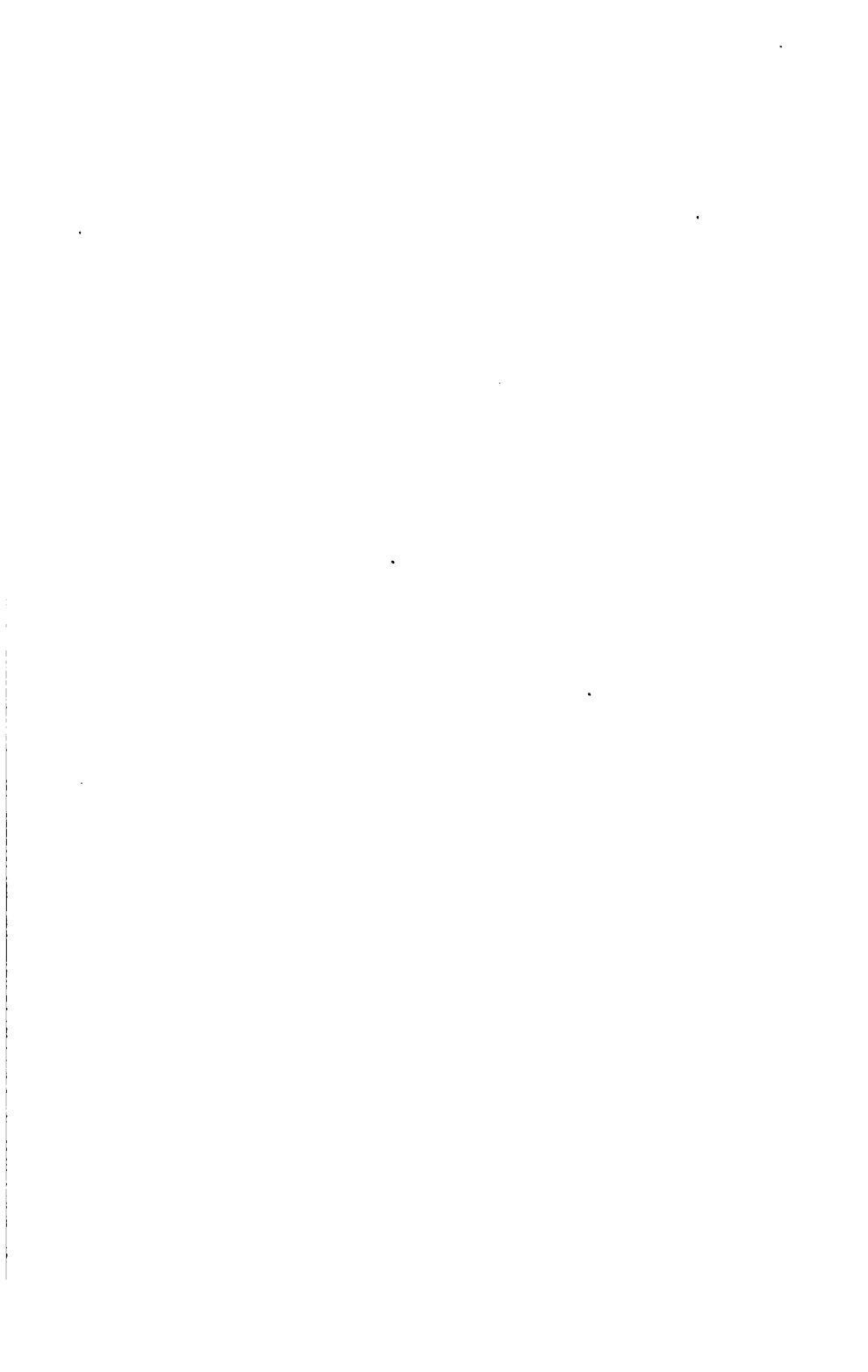
"Two copies of the 'Brut-y-Saesón,' or 'Chronicle of the Saxons,' have likewise been collated as to facts. This compilation is a corrupted version of the preceding Chronicle, amalgamated with the 'Annals of Winton,' in order to connect, and detail, contemporaneous occurrences in England and Wales. The portion devoted to Welsh events is very carelessly constructed, the facts in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure. A copy of this compilation, with the distinguishing mark of S., is a Gwentian manuscript in the British Museum, Cleopatra A. xiv., and may be ascribed to the latter end of the 15th century."

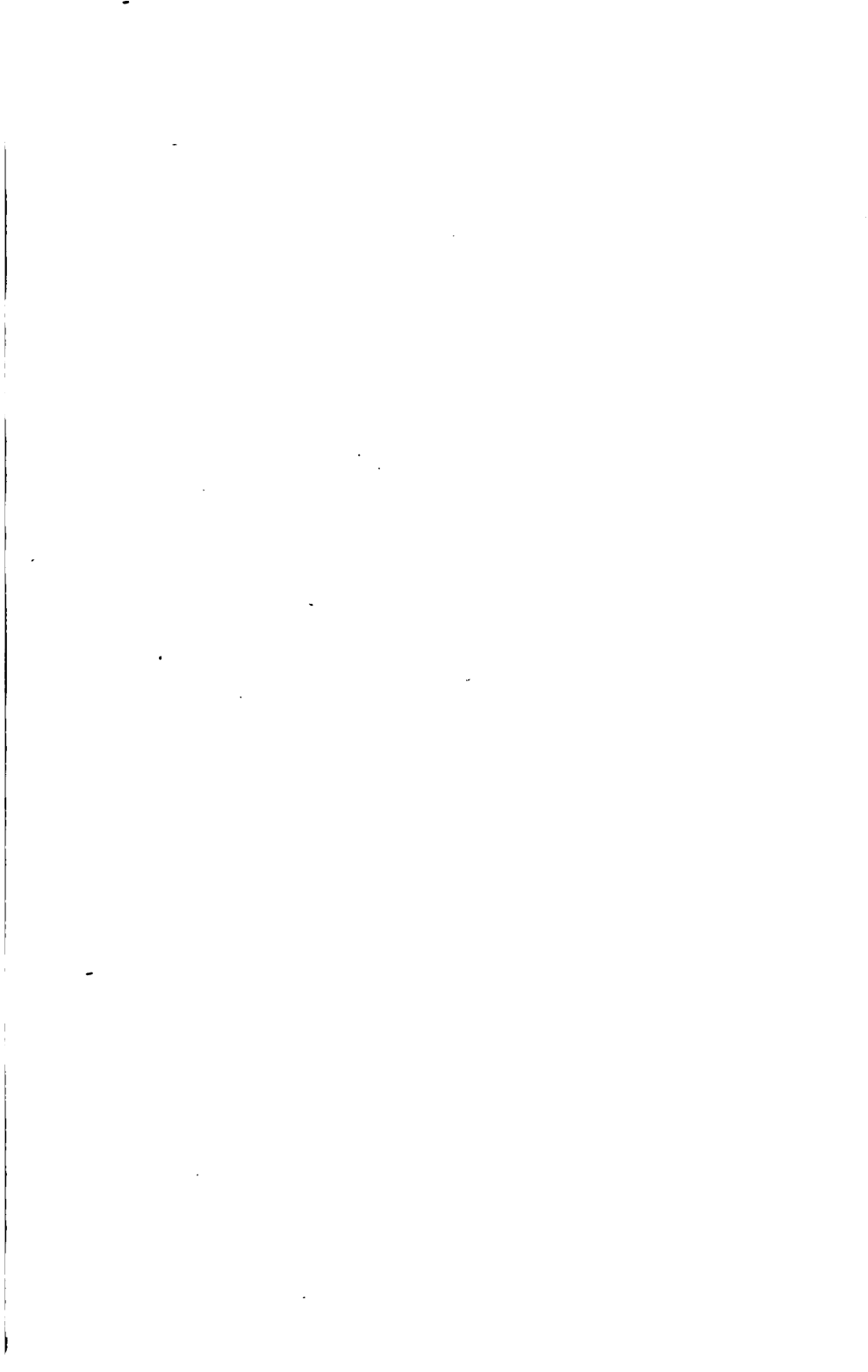
"The other copy, to which the letter G. is appropriated, was written by the celebrated bard and herald, Gutyn Owain, and is styled in some catalogues 'The Book of Basing,' on account of having been in the library of Basingwerk Abbey. The prior part of this manuscript contains an imperfect version of the 'Chronicle of the Kings,' written about the middle of the fourteenth century; to supply the deficiency, Gutyn Owain added the remainder from a dissimilar copy. This manuscript the Rev. Peter Roberts adopted as the foundation for his publication of the 'Chronicle of the Kings,' and considers it to be altogether a transcript by Gutyn Owain; he remarks the great change in the style at the part alluded to, but did not notice the variation in the handwriting and orthography, which distinction is sufficiently obvious. Gutyn Owain then adds the 'Chronicle of the Saxons,' enlarging the genealogical notices, and carries it down to 1461. This differs in diction from the Gwentian copy of the same work, but very little in matter; both are taken from a common source, adopted by each writer to the idiom, and literary language of his province.

After collating the two prefaces—the printed one, attributable either to the new editor, or to the Master of the Rolls, and the manuscript preface, the work of Aneurin Owen—we ask why the latter was not printed entire, and the credit of it given to its real author: how it is that his name should not be mentioned: why the variations in phraseology were introduced: and why Aneurin Owen's remarks were mixed with other matter of no value, mere dilatation of phrases, or references to the volume of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*?

Eliminating from the printed preface the parts common to it and to the manuscript of our deceased friend, we may estimate the value of the remainder as nearly an evanescent quantity. But we must return to a further criticism of this curious document on a future occasion, for space now forbids more extended remarks. We will only add that the whole body of the volume (except a glossary and the index) is nothing more than Aneurin Owen's transcript printed: the whole merit of it is due to him, and to nobody else. Perhaps this is what is meant in the concluding paragraph of the preface where it is said:—"It now remains that the editor should tender his thanks to those kind friends who have in any way assisted him in preparing the present volume for the press. His special thanks are due to Lady Llanover, always foremost in every attempt to promote the literature of her native country, *for access to valuable transcripts in her possession*," etc.

We conclude with two questions: 1. What transcripts are those alluded to without the transcriber's name? 2. What is that literature of England, *her native country*, which the editor states Lady Llanover to have been always foremost in promoting?





OGHAM ALPHABET (PROFESSOR GRAVES.)

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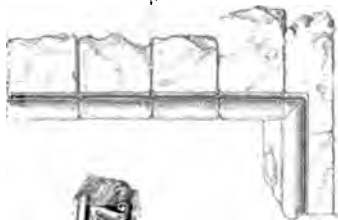
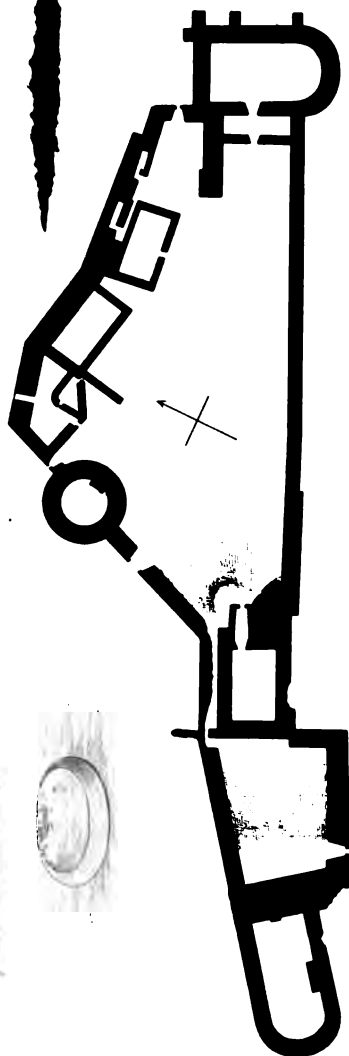
e a o i u w a e

OGHAMS ON INSCRIBED STONE AT LLANFECHAN, CARDIGANSHIRE.

T R E N A C C A T L O

CASTELL Y BERE, MERIONETHSHIRE.

PLAN AND DETAILS.



Archaeologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXVI.—APRIL, 1861.

CASTELL Y BERE, MERIONETHSHIRE.

IN the year 1849, some notes relating to this interesting old fortress, with a rough plan of the castle, so far as it could then be made out, were published by our Association.¹ I have now to express my regret that those notes and the plan were then sent for publication, prior to the excavations which have at various times since been made within and about these ruins. They were then so overgrown with trees and brushwood, and covered with the *débris* of the fallen buildings, that the plan in several parts could be little more than conjectural. All that could be clearly seen above ground, were the walls of a large room, or open court, towards the west end of the castle, with a small rudely formed archway on the south side of this room, the walls of another smaller room adjoining, and several detached fragments of buildings in various other places, with a second small rudely formed archway, buried nearly to its crown. Not a fragment of worked stone, nor even of stone calculated for working, not a chamfered edge, was to be seen.

Little did those who felt an interest in the ruins of Castell y Bere imagine, that it would turn out to have been, not only, with the exceptions, probably, of the

¹ See vol. iv, p. 211.

castles of Caernarvon and Beaumaris, *the largest*, but in its ornamentation immeasurably superior to any of the castellated buildings of North Wales.

However, in the year 1850, we commenced our excavations, not with the expectation of discovering any object of superior interest, but for the purpose of tracing as accurately as possible, the circuit of the walls, and making a plan of the building. We had worked for some days, clearing the outer wall, when two ladies, who were of our party, begged me to allow of their detaching one of the workmen to clear out the archway to which I have last referred. They had worked but a few hours, when, with great glee, one of the ladies brought to me a fragment of chiseled sandstone,—we have no such stone in our neighbourhood,—and that day or the following, pursuing the excavation in a place close to that last referred to, I observed, peeping out beneath the root of a tree, a single square of “dog-tooth moulding.” We worked, of course, with redoubled spirit, and shortly, was excavated the beautiful capital with a wreath of “dog-tooth,” of which I append a sketch. Since then our excavations have proceeded at intervals, seldom without success. I give sketches of other architectural fragments dug up, and sections of some of the mouldings; and at the end of this paper will be appended a list of the more interesting objects, other than architectural ones, found within or around the castle.

The question of course arises, When were these beautiful works executed? I answer, without hesitation, before the conquest of Wales. Bere was a royal fortress, as the paper heretofore published upon this subject, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, will shew. In that paper I have referred to the total absence of “fabric rolls,” or accounts of the expenses of works executed here; while those relating to the great Edwardian castles of North Wales, are so numerous as to amount almost to a regular series. It will be asked, why are there no accounts of repairs here, subsequent to the conquest of the princi-

pality? I reply, because (which there is every reason to believe) before the close of the reign of Edward I, or early in that of his successor, this castle was destroyed, probably (if one may judge from the great quantity of charcoal found in the ruins) by fire.¹ And as to the style of its architecture; it may be pronounced beautiful Early English, though it has its peculiar characteristic features. Mr. Freeman, in an interesting paper upon the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Wales and the Marches," in a former number of this Journal,² has suggested that the architecture of North Wales, of this period, is "of Irish origin," or "Welsh in the strictest sense," and instances the churches of Llanbadarn-fawr (this, however, is in South Wales, though upon the border), Cymmer, Llanaber, Valle Crucis, and Llangollen. If Irish, so far as Llanaber is concerned, I have endeavoured to account for its Irish features, also in one of the numbers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.³ And I may here mention that some of the peculiarities, which Mr. Freeman notices in the architecture of North Wales, I observe as occurring in the Castle of Bere. I particularly refer to the square and octagon abaci, so unusual in Early English work in England. There is also a very remarkable couplet of lancets at Llanaber,⁴ which has recently been restored, having the roll-moulding not only along the arches and jambs, but *continued across the sill of the window*,—a most unusual feature. We have found an example precisely similar, at Bere. I think I observe, too, peculiarities not easy to describe, in the "Early English," or *Early Welsh*, if it is *Welsh*, foliage here;

¹ No notice of a Constable of the Castle of Bere has been found of later date than 2nd July, 1293. See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, p. 217.

² See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, third series, vol. ii, p. 218.

³ Ditto, vol. iv, p. 314. I will here apologize for the *Arch. Camb.* and myself, or one of us, for the way in which my letter now referred to, is printed; though I have before done so in another number of this Journal, vol. iv of same series, p. 417. I should also add that "the Nation of the Geraldines" should have been printed within inverted commas, as a quotation, as it is in this note.

⁴ See *Arch. Camb.*, third series, vol. v, p. 142.

but if it does not arise from decay, beautiful as this foliage is, some of its members appear to me more flat than in the same work in England; and I should say that *some* are perhaps more stiff, and their sections more angular.

In the Chronicle of T. Wikes, published in Gale's *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*,¹ it is stated that the Castle of Bere, which there appears to have been in Snowdonia, was taken by King Edward himself from Prince David. It seems uncertain what were the boundaries of ancient Snowdonia; but it is improbable that they included the district in which Castell y Bere is situated. Mr. Warrington, however, in his *History of Wales*, misled by the statements of Wikes, suggests that that castle was identical with Dolbadarn; but there is not the slightest proof that the latter, or any other castle in North Wales than this in Merionethshire, was ever known by the name of Bere;² and Edward does not appear, in an itinerary of his movements preserved in one of the branches of the Public Record Office in London, to have been in Merionethshire in 1282 or 1283. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that the statement of Thomas of Walsingham, referred to in my former paper on Castell y Bere,³ excepting that *he* dates the event a year too late, and that which follows, taken from *Trivetii Annales Sex Regum Angliæ*, are correct,—“1283. Rex Angliæ, ponte jam peracto, cum exercitu in Snowdoniam transiit; castra ejus omnia sine notabili resistentiâ capiens, & comburens. Comes vero Pembrochiæ castrum de Bere, quod principis erat, cepit; & cito post

¹ Vol. iii, p. 111. Wikes represents this event as occurring in 1282. It was not till after the death of Prince Llewelyn, which happened upon Dec. 11, 1282. Probably the date of the fall of the castle should be, according to the old style, 1282-3. Thomas of Walsingham places it in 1284.

² In the Extent of the County of Caernarvon, of 26 Edward III, the township in which Dolbadarn Castle is situated, is mentioned as the “ville of Dolbadarn”; but there is no reference whatever to the castle. It was probably before this in ruins.

³ Arch. Camb., vol. iv, p. 111.

Wallia tota, cum omnibus castris suis, subacta est regiæ voluntati."

Certainly it was our Merionethshire Bere which was chartered by Edward I, as the charter to the ville, in connexion with the castle, shews; for the privileges granted by it extend only from the shore of "Abermau" to the "Devy." And it was the same place which was visited by that monarch in 1284, as is evident from the itinerary above noticed.

In addition to the records relating to Castell y Bere, referred to in my former paper, I may mention that, in a very valuable manuscript in the autograph of the well known herald and poet, Griffith Hiraethog, in the Hengwrt collection,¹ written about the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, occurs the following notice of Castell y Bere: "Kwmwd Ystymanair, Llanvihangel y Pennant, ar lan afon Dysynni Kastell y Byr, lle bu adeilad mawr cadarn, wedi ei ddistrywio a'i vwrw'n llawr, ac a elwir yn y secr² sinadon³ castell." Some of the words are rather obscure; but I have to thank the Rev. John Williams for the following translation of this passage: "In the comot of Ystymanair, Llanvihangel y Pennant, on the banks of the river Dysynni, is Castell y Bere, where stood a large and strong building, but which is now destroyed and cast to the ground, and is called in the exchequer signatures 'the Castle.'"

The following are some of the more interesting objects dug up at Castell y Bere:

A great number of arrow-heads, much corroded, but not so much so as to leave any doubt of what they are, and some preserving their form; one a barbed arrow. Fragments of chain-mail much corroded. A leaden seal, the device a fleur-de-lis, the legend, s. HYSOK BYLY. Part of a crossbow,—a small circular piece of bone,—

¹ Hengwrt MS., No. 104, fol. 11.

² Exchequer (?). "Ysgwier hir ar *Siecr Roll*." Lewis Glyn, *Cothi*, p 482.

³ Signatures.

I do not know its technical description ; which, I believe, has been used for holding the string. Several knives, one with its wooden handle remaining. Part of a bone comb with this pattern ☉, so common upon objects of this description, for centuries, upon it. A small silver coin of one of our earlier Edwards. A curb-chain. An object much resembling a boat-hook. Large quantities of fragments of pottery, mostly glazed ; some of a bright green, others of an olive colour, but no perfect vessel. Some of this pottery has been formed of a very fine white clay. Great quantities of bones,¹ some sawn across, as if for culinary purposes ; amongst them those of the boar and deer, in particular the roe. The remarkable iron object in Mr. Reveley's possession was found long prior to the recent excavations.

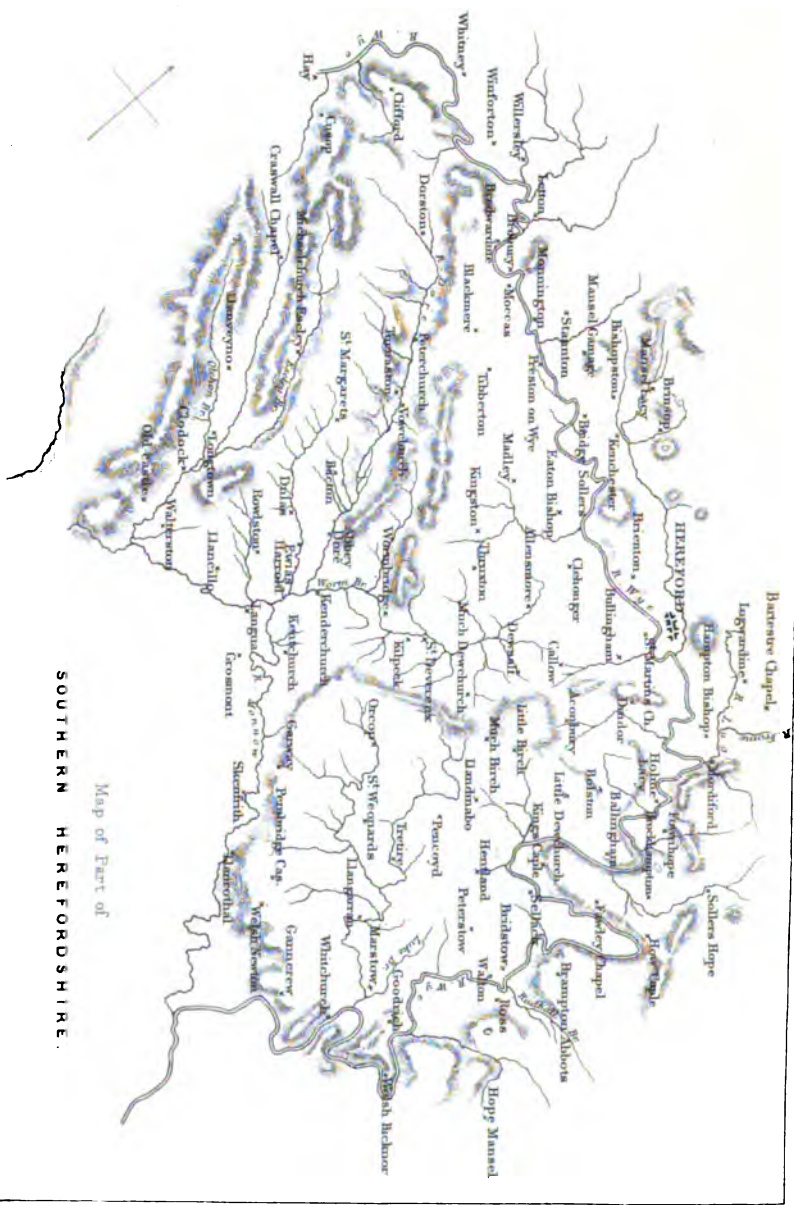
To conclude. I would suggest that if any part of this fortress was erected by the Earl of Chester, as was thought by the antiquary of Hengwrt, Robert Vaughan,² it was the oblong room immediately westward of the wide open court ; the plan of which room certainly resembles that of a Norman keep, though of small size. But the existing walls of it are far too low (not any where above six or eight feet in height) to enable one to decide with any certainty. This room is upon the apex of the rock.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Jan. 18, 1861.

¹ Only one human skeleton has been found of late years. Many years since were to be seen exposed several human skulls, which were found within the castle.

² See *Arch. Camb.*, vol. iv, p. 214.



SOUTHERN HEREFORDSHIRE.

Map of Part of

ON PAROCHIAL CHURCHES IN HEREFORDSHIRE DEDICATED TO CAMBRO-BRITISH SAINTS.

It has been customary from the earliest period, upon the erection of edifices for Christian worship, in the absence of a direct dedication to the Divinity or the Angelic Host, to associate the names of individuals who were considered peculiarly eminent for sanctity and moral virtue; and we accordingly find that almost every church throughout our land has been assigned to a patron saint, the few exceptions being those which have been named after the Saviour and Holy Trinity, or St. Michael and all Angels.

Nor was this custom lacking in the churches of the principality of Wales; for, even at the present day, the local names most frequently indicate the persons in commemoration of whom the parochial churches were erected; and whether a scriptural saint, or an eminent Cambro-British Christian, the rule will be found generally to prevail. Such local appellations as, "Llanbedr," "Llanfair," "Llanfihangel," "Llanddewi," "Llandeilo," and a vast multitude of others which may be mentioned, are a practical illustration of these assertions.

But although the names of Cambro-British Christians are chiefly confined to the principality, yet in the border counties there are a few churches which claim such for their patron saints; notwithstanding the circumstance is not always perceptible in the ancient parochial nomenclature.

In the county of Hereford there are a few parishes which are thus distinguished, although it is evident that the effects of Anglo-Saxon conquest have in most instances caused the early evacuation of the county by the aboriginal population. It is only in that district which lies westward of the river Wye where we have this interesting ecclesiastical feature; for it does

not appear that the eastern portion of the county was ever subject to the jurisdiction of the British Church after it was limited to the present Welsh dioceses ; if so, it must have been anterior to the establishment of the Hereford Anglo-Saxon see. It could only have been whilst the district between the Severn and the Wye was yet British ground.

It may be here naturally inquired, who were these Cambro-British saints ? The only reply that can be given is, that they were for the most part eminent Christians of the ancient British and Welsh church, who in their attempt to preserve the independence of their ecclesiastical as of their civil institutions from Anglo-Saxon and Norman aggression, not only named the churches which they founded during their lives, and other equally zealous devotees after their deceases, to their own memorial, but had their names preserved in manuscripts, which are commonly known as their acts or pedigrees. Of these there are two in the British Museum.

The one manuscript is recorded in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, by the Rev. W. J. Rees, as having been written in the thirteenth century, and in the possession of the Rev. Edward Llwyd, the author of the *Archæologia Britannica* about the year 1707 ; and the other, as having been in the possession of John Lewis, Esq., of Lanwenny, in Radnorshire, about the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Many of these saints were of no greater importance than the founders of churches or devout professors of the Christian faith, who were either civil rulers themselves or the descendants of persons in secular authority. Others, however, it must not be forgotten, were distinguished ecclesiastics, whose names stand prominently in the calendar of the Cambro-British Church.

Their existence during the early British and Anglo-Saxon period was at a time, when the human mind seems to have been greatly influenced by stories of marvellous appearances or extraordinary achievements ;

and the records of their lives, notwithstanding they are interspersed occasionally with much local and historical information, are so clouded with those traditional myths, which are characteristic of early literature, that they are of little interest to the general reader, although of the highest value to the ecclesiastical archæologist.

The frequent allusion to localities in the county of Hereford is some evidence of their worth, for not only do they prove the existence of a west British Church, but also show the connexion of a considerable part of Herefordshire with her ancient archiepiscopal jurisdiction.

To proceed, then, to notice the churches in Herefordshire which are dedicated to Cambro-British saints.

In Ecton's *Thesaurus* it appears that the churches of "Hentland," "Whitchurch," and "Ballingham," have for their patron Dubritius, who occupied the archiepiscopal see of Caerleon upon Usk about the beginning of the sixth century. He was instrumental in opposing the Pelagian heresy, which had then spread through this country; and for this purpose he established colleges at Hentland and Moccas, in order to train the clergy of his province in the ancient orthodox faith. Dubritius was the immediate predecessor of St. David, who afterwards removed the episcopal residence to Menevia; a circumstance which, in honour of Cambria's patron saint, obtained through the romantic reveries of the middle ages, has since conferred upon the ancient town and see the title of the city and diocese of St. David.

Dubritius was the son of Eurddil, the daughter of Pebiau Regulus of Erging, who is supposed to have resided at Moccas, which it is probable was also the birth place of this saint; for one writer says that he was born in a locality called Ynys Eurddil, which was near Madley, and that his famous college was established at a place called Mochros, which appears to be no other than Moccas, the residence of his grandfather Pebiau.

As a proof that Dubritius was held in high esteem in the Cambro-British Church, it is worthy of remark that in the year 1120, just five centuries and a half after his decease, his remains were removed from Bardsey Island, where he had been buried, to the cathedral of Llandaff, by Urban, then bishop of that diocese.

A memorable circumstance in the life of Dubritius is, that he officiated at the coronation of the British king Arthur, about the year 517, in his character of primate of the West British Church.

The site of the college at Hentland is supposed to have been at a place now called Llanfrother,¹ respecting which Taylor, in his *History of Gavelkind*, published 1633, says: "In the region of Urchenfield is a certain parish called Henllan, commonly Hentland, which in the English tongue signifies the old church, and in certain pastures belonging to a farm in that parish there is a place which to this day is called 'Llan-frawter,' which is as much as to say, 'the church or convent of the Brethren,' the site whereof was upon a small hill not half a mile distant from Hentland, the ruins of which place with its old foundations are yet to be seen, and was a place dedicated to holy use; there it was that the great college for one hundred students was founded by St. Dubricius, the prince of this region (to repel the progress of the Pelagian heresy), who succeeded his grandfather Pibanus, king of Erging, the old name of Urchenfield, and in the days of king Arthur was made archbishop of Caerleon."

It ought here to be observed that the ancient British law of gavelkind, or the equal division of a deceased's freehold property amongst all his sons, was the custom of inheritance in Irchenfield.

The name of "Henllan" or the old church, would intimate its antiquity; but when it was first so styled does not appear. As respects Whitchurch and Ballingham before mentioned, the Anglo-Saxon origin of their names is very evident.

¹ Or the church of the brethren.

The church of "Kilpeck" has for its patrons Mary and David: "Sellack," Tysilio: and "Llangarren", Deiniol: neither of which preserve in their nomenclature the names of these honoured personages. The word Llangarren is no doubt derived from the contiguity of this church to the river Garren.

The churches of "Much Dewchurch" and "Little Dewchurch" are dedicated to David, whose name appears in the present etymology of these parishes in singular combination with an English word, which seems the only way, with any degree of euphony, that the word "Llanddewi," or the church of David, could be anglicized. On account of the superiority of the Celtic tongue over the Anglo-Saxon, in the coinage of words, this bilingual union sometimes occurs, although not frequently.

"Llandinabo," "Llanrothall," "Llanveyno," and "Llancillo," are names that would afford some speculation, but there are difficulties in the way. The first is stated to be dedicated to Dinabo. But who, it may be asked, was Dinabo? In the notes of a learned antiquary to the *Liber Landavensis* it is styled "Lann Junabui." As respects Llanrothall there is no clue to any information. Llanveyno and Llancillo are recorded in the *Thesaurus* as under the patronage of St. Peter; but the former is generally considered as one of the few churches dedicated to Beuno, and a very reasonable inference may certainly be drawn upon an analysis of the name.

In the life of Beuno it is stated that Ynyr Gwent, Lord or Regulus of Gwent, in consideration that he was humble, chaste, and generous, gave him three estates in the district of Ewyas, where this parish, or rather chapelry, is situate.

This circumstance is further evidence in favour of Beuno, and consequently this chapel is recorded in the *History of the Cambro-British Saints* as one of the eleven churches dedicated to him.

The church of "Clodock" cannot be mistaken; according to the *Thesaurus*, it has been named after that saint who was the son of Cludwyn, and grandson of

Brychain Brycheiniog, Lord of Brecknock. It ought here to be mentioned that Clodock is the mother church of Llanveyno just alluded to.

There is the parish of "St. Weonard's" or "St. Waynard's,"¹ which is stated in *The Beauties of England and Wales*, by Messrs. Bayley and Britton, to derive its appellation from the dedication of its church to the British saint of that name, whose figure, represented as an old man sustaining a book and an ox, was formerly in the north chancel window.

It does not, however, correctly appear who St. Weonard was, as his name does not occur in the pedigrees of the Cambro-British saints; probably some member of the Association well read in ecclesiastical history can suggest.

The only remaining church connected with the Cambro-British saints is that of St. Margaret, to whom it is stated in the notes to Mr. Rees's *Lives of the Saints*, there were only two churches in the Welsh dioceses dedicated, viz., the present and Roath, in Glamorganshire. It seems, however, according to Ecton's *Thesaurus*, that Crynant Chapel, near Neath, was also dedicated to St. Margaret.

All these parishes which have been noticed are situate on the west side of the county; some of them, too, until recently, although within a few miles of Hereford cathedral, were included in the widely extended diocese of St. David's, but by a legislative act a few years ago they were added to the English see.

The churches in Herefordshire subject to modern Welsh jurisdiction were Llancillo, Clodock, Llanveyno, and St. Margaret, with a few others, which are not the subject of our inquiries, viz., Ewyas Harold, Michaelchurch-Esley, Dulas, Rowstone, Walterstone, Longtown, and Crasswell.

Of the saints, David, Beuno, and Margaret, as of others which stand in the ecclesiastical catalogue, there is much recorded in their lives which shows that they

¹ Supposed to have been Llan-sant-Gwainerth. But query whether the Gwrnerth mentioned in the pedigrees of Welsh saints?

were held in great veneration, and many extraordinary acts were attributed to them. In the *Life of David* it is said that he cured Pebiau, King of Erging, who has been already alluded to, of blindness, at a time when he was itinerating through this part of the country.

Of Beuno it is related, amongst other acts, that after the murder of Winifred at the door of his monastery, he placed the severed head upon her corpse, and at his prayer the soul resumed the body, with no other mark of her misfortune than a small line round the neck; the ground infected with her blood cracked, and a fountain sprang up in a torrent which still flows, and over which was erected the well-known chapel of St. Winifred.

Of St. Margaret, too, there are many stories of the marvellous,—of relief afforded to the sick and lame, the deaf and dumb, who sought a cure through her means.

The histories of the several Cambro-British saints, although in a great measure partaking of a mythic character, contain references to localities which may be easily recognized, and are therefore of no little value as ancient ecclesiastical records. Amongst those to whom the parochial churches of this county have been dedicated, Dubricius, David, Beuno, and St. Margaret were of considerable eminence, notwithstanding the many fabulous stories with which their lives are unfortunately interspersed. Of Tysilio, Deiniol, and Clodock there is nothing to note beyond the mention of their names in the acts or pedigrees. As respects Tysilio it must not be forgotten that he was the famous British historian, having ascribed to him the authorship of the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or *The Chronicles of the Kings of Britain*.

It must not be supposed that all the saints of the Cambro-British church were natives of our island. Singular to relate, the names of foreigners have been included: for instance, in the *Pedigrees of the Saints* occurs the following entry: "Melyd, bishop of London, was from the country of Rome." This individual, it is said, was Mellitus, an abbot of Rome, who came over to England a few years after the arrival of Augustine

to assist him in the mission, and afterwards became bishop of London. Again, St. Margaret, whose fame spread through the Western Churches during the time of the holy wars, was an Asiatic Christian, and suffered martyrdom at Antioch, in Pisidia, during the last general persecution.

Of St. Catherine, it is recorded in her life that she was the daughter of Alexander, king of Constantinople, and from her extraordinary learning and piety she was chosen as the patron saint of Christian philosophers. How these became adopted as Cambro-British saints it is difficult to conjecture.

These early British associations are not so remarkable when we consider the former connexion of this portion of Herefordshire with the principality for many ages after the first Anglo-Saxon inroads.

The presence of a bishop of Hereford, or, as it was then called, Caerffawydd, at the synod of the younger Augustine, denotes an ecclesiastical antiquity of which we may be justly proud, and the existence of Cambro-British names in the patronage of parochial churches greatly augment the historical proof in support of our ancient position.

This district, which under the government of the Silurian Reguli was known by the name of Erging, of which Ewyas was part, is generally associated with Gwent, in Monmouthshire, since they were usually presided over by the same petty chieftain.

According to the most learned authority we are informed that so early as the sixth century Cystenyn Gorneu, or Constantine the Blessed, founded churches in this locality, and that Geraint ab Erbin, about the same period, erected a church at Hereford then known as Caerffawydd.

We learn from the *Archæologia Britannica* of Edward Llwyd, that the dialect of the Gwentish British, which was common in Gwent and some portions of Breconshire and Glamorganshire, was also spoken in this part of Herefordshire; and it is not improbable that this

dialect was much in use long after the Norman conquest, for according to the Domesday Survey the kings of England had three churches in Irchenfield, the priests of which were employed to go on embassies for the English court into Wales, a knowledge of the ancient British tongue being necessary in those days for such important missions.

From Domesday Survey it also appears that there was a considerable Welsh population in this district, for amongst the inhabitants enumerated in the several villages the Welshmen form a large portion, and Welsh laws were administered in some parishes and manors.

Under the head of Wormelow Hundred it is stated : " The king held here six hides, one of these had Welsh customs and the others English." This admixture of English and Welsh government was frequent in the Marches, and to this circumstance may be ascribed the existence of the custom of gavelkind in Irchenfield, the ancient British law of freehold inheritance. In many of the Courts of the Lords Marchers both English and Welsh laws were concurrently administered amongst the respective suitors who resorted thither for redress.

To conclude :—Is any objection urged against our subject as tending to sanction the prescription of early superstition ? It may be briefly stated in reply, that even in the fabulous biographies of the Cambro-British saints much important information may be obtained ; yet if no other end were gained they may at least serve as an incentive to a just appreciation of a more enlightened Christian age.

With a charitable allowance for the spirit of the times in which these ecclesiastical legends were composed, it is only an act of justice to add, that in a moral point of view they are not without some redeeming quality ; for amidst the many romantic myths which they contain, there is sufficient to indicate that the main object was to stimulate the people to a devout Christian life by the individual example of their parochial patron saints.

JAMES DAVIES.

SALUSBURY CORRESPONDENCE.

WE are indebted to the kindness of Miss Angharad Llwyd, of Rhyl, for the following copies of two letters written by ancestors of Lord Combermere, and now in his possession :

Endorsement.—"Letters from Berth Lwyd."

"To his honored and much esteemed kinsman, Syr Thomas Salusbri, Baronett, att hys house at Lhewni."

"GOOD COSEN,—I am hartilye sorry to heare of my brother Salisburys sudden departure, yett we must submitt to Gods will and plesure. I shall be glad to see you here at Berth Llwyd, thatt we may confer together of what is best for your good. My mother and myself can have no ends upon you ; therefore you may safely trust us. I hope now you know your own strength, noe body as yet can doe you anye wrong. You often complayned of your want of meanes, thatt siege is now raysed, and y^r estates, is in your own handes, and you that hav felte y^r misery of want and bondage, I hope you will kepe yourself free. For your sister, Lettis More, I cannot deny but she is a fayre ladye, and well borne ; and you have reson to value yourselfe, for you have ffortune, person, birth, and wit enough. Only I would have you consider whether you wuld not improve y^r education, which in my opinion you may doe in a short tyme, eyther in followinge the Courte [which, if you like, I dare undertake to hav you sworne the Kings or the Queen's servante], or els by travaelling into ffrans, which is the farther way about ; for in a shorter tyme in Court, you will construe and understand man as well as you doe books ; and noe question, if you stody the world, the Court is the best librarye. I beleive my brother, Timothy Myddelton, has your wardship before this tyme ; for it is his by the order of the Court, and I dare answer for hym that you shall be well dealt with. That which now you want is good counsel ; and I hope you will do nothing without the advice of y^r grandmother Middleton, which you have found your best friend, and is most desirous to speak with you. You must take hede of Sir Thomas Middleton, for fear of angrying him. It may cost you Cilffwrn farm. Cast not yourself away willfully, for then you will both loose yourself and your friends. Beauties are rare in

Wales ; but if you kepe me company, your eyes will be surffeted both with wit and beauty, for coynes there is ridiculous. If your syster, Moor, love you, I shall not bee against it ; but if you be too much undervalued, I will undertake to helpe you to a greater portion, a baron or an erle's daughter, and fortifie you with many powerful friends, which shall be more worth to you than your fortune. Thus hoping to see you with all conveniente spede, I rest your lovinge uncle,

"JOHN MAYNARD."

John Maynard, who wrote this letter, was second son to Sir John Maynard of Walthamstow (knighted at the coronation of Charles I), by Mary, second daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, sister to Hester, Lady Salusbury. The seal on this letter is an hour-glass and skull, with "*Remember me.*" On other letters of J. Maynard are his arms : on a chevron a crescent between three gauntlets in the field.

ANSWER TO JOHN MAYNARD.

"HONOR'D UNKELL,—I hav ever found good reson to bee confident of y^r and my grandmothers good mening towards me ; and therefore might well incur the just censure of all men shuld I not with a glad care hearken after y^r advice. Y^r letter advertised me too wayes ffor the improvement of my education : travell, or the Court. Ffor the first, though it bee a way my nature is more enclined, and the rather being a thing you likewise approve of, yet a seminge danger therein might cause many to tax mee of a rash act of folly, shuld I now leve my country, being the only hope of the direct line of my house, havying no more a hopefull successor, should it plesse God to call for mee, than Robert Salsbrie, one whose disolute life hath made a scorn to his countrie ; and moreover am of an opinion that it were more for mee now to acquainte myself with myne owne countrie, wheather it hath pleased God to chouse for mee, than any other ; and there to be knowne to my frends and kindred, and to stody rather the nature of these people amongst whom I am to Live. And though I confess the Courte is an honorable callinge, and is, as you terme it, the best librarie of mens nature, yet, Syr, I am persuaded to come thence hether, I shuld find myself in a new world, the disposition of our countrymen being somewhat different from all others.

They are a crafty kind of people ; and this much I have already found in their natures, that they beare an internal hate to such as make themselves strangers unto them.

“ For my sister, Moore, you have given her due comendation ; and for myself, though by y^r meanes I might perchance come to the choyce of many rare, and it may be some as plesing beautys, yet I beleve I could scarce find one soe fitt ffor mee in divers respects, her being from her childhood brought up in this country, and the long expectation of a match betwene us hath bred in our tenants and frends more love towards her than the many merits of a stranger could ever deserve. Our nature and disposition are known to each other ; and besides the reciprocal Love that is betwene us, it was a thing desired so much by my ffather, that it is mentioned in his last will. Shee is no stranger to my estate ; and shee is well versed in the language, which is a great meanes to confirme in our hearts the love of our country. Ffor her porcion, the L^d Moore hath promised the payment of £3,000, a part thereof by the begininge of Michaelmass terme : to confirme which promise he hath left order with the Lord of Mount Morris to pass securitie therof upon conference with my unkell, Syr Thomas Middelton, whom I shall not faile, if I may [with my utmost] please, accordinge to your good advice.

“ As touching my wardship, I am much bound unto my unkell Tymothy for his cares and for his prevention of troubles, that iff some others tooke it, I might be put unto in proving myself no ward ; but thus much I am assured of, I pay no respecte of homage, nor was there anye of my ancestors found wards, or any liveries sued out upon the death of anye of them. I shall, God willing, with all possible spede wait upon you at Berth Llwyd. In the meane time, wishing you mirthe and healthe,

“ I rest your assured loving nephew to command,

“ THOMAS SALUSBURYE.

“ Lhewenny, August the 14th, 1632.”



LLANELLIAN CHURCH, ANGLESEY, N.E. VIEW.

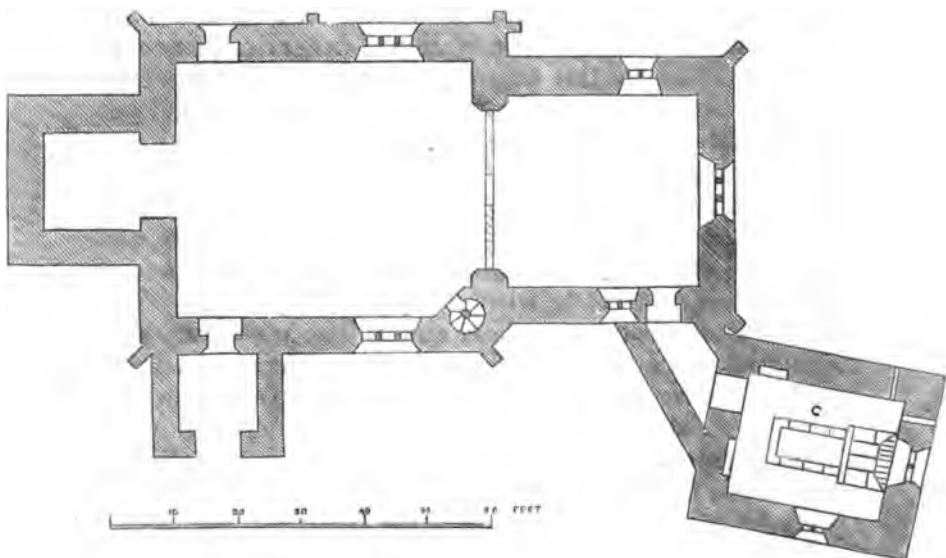
MONA MEDIÆVA.—No. XXIV.

LLANEILIAN.

THIS parish is situated on a point of the northern shore of Anglesey, eastward from Amlwch. It is said to have held the residence of Caswallon Llaw-Hir, prince of North Wales, in the fifth century; and the site of an ancient abode called Llys Caswallon is still pointed out by tradition as that of his palace.

The most remarkable edifice within the district is the church, which, in several respects, is the most perfect in Anglesey. This building consists of a nave and chancel, with a chapel towards the south-east corner of the latter, connected with it by a low passage. The whole is of nearly one date, and it has most probably replaced a church of a much earlier period, as is so commonly the case in this island. Judging from the architectural details, and from the chronological relations subsisting between churches in this part of Wales and those in England, the present church of Llaneilian may be considered as of the latter half of the fifteenth century, but a crossed stone occurs in one of the walls having the date of 1420 (? see plate). This stone may, indeed, have been part of the previous building used up in the new one; but we are not inclined to assign an earlier existence to this church than the end of the reign of Henry VI. It is a handsome building, well finished, and was no doubt erected in quiet, prosperous times. The general character of the internal woodwork is much later than that of the stone walls. The roofs are apparently of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the earliest date that occurs on one of the seats is 1535. From this it may be inferred that the church took a considerable time to build, and was finished only by degrees. Parts of the internal fittings, though mediæval in style, are of as recent a date as 1690 (see plate).

At the west end of the nave stands a bold square tower of three stages, with a square spire in two stages, of a design not usual in this county: a large porch protects the south door of the nave, immediately opposite to a lich gate in the churchyard wall. The nave, as will be observed by the annexed plan, is 30 feet by



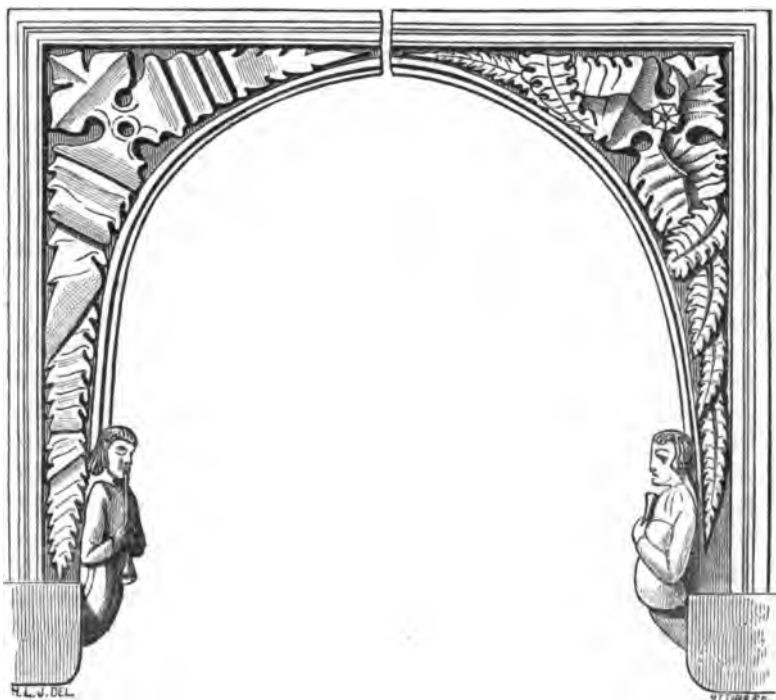
24 feet internally. It has north and south doors, and a window in each of the north and south walls, four centered, with three lights cinquefoiled; there are no windows in the west end; but the tower opens into the nave under an arch, and is not approachable except by this internal entrance. The roof is of very low pitch, nearly horizontal, covered with lead, boarded throughout, divided into eight compartments, with side principals simply chamfered, short, and resting on stone corbels. It is fitted with a series of plain benches of solid oak, the ends of which, however, are finished with circular heads, and these are carved with designs of such merit and simplicity that we have delineated the most remarkable among them in the accompanying plate. Several contain the initials of the persons to whom the

benches belonged, and one bears the date of 1690, at which time, or shortly previous, they were probably erected. Against the northern doorway stands an instrument now but little known,—the Gaff-Own, or Dog-fork,—a somewhat ponderous machine, opening by a set of pivots, whereby the clerk or churchwarden might throw forward a pair of pinching arms, catch the intruding dog of some careless parishioner, and eject the animal from church. We do not remember having seen more than one other example of this relic of old times, and in a church of this island.

A doorway and circular nowell staircase at the south-east corner of the nave lead up, by a turret, to the rood loft. This is quite perfect, and stands over a massive screen, separating the chancel from the nave. The front of the loft towards the nave, above the projecting canopy, is panelled, and the cornice-mouldings are filled with the usual vine and oak or ivy-leaf pattern. The tracery below, between the uprights, has been a good deal injured; but on the whole it is in fair preservation. The south porch has a roof similar to that of the nave, boarded throughout, with bosses at the intersection of the ridge-beam with the principals. A narrow stone bench runs along each wall, and by the door is a stoup, with moulded edges of simple and unusual design.

The chancel, which is entered under a lofty arch plainly chamfered, is about eighteen feet both in length and breadth. A window of three lights is in the eastern wall, it is straight-headed; that is to say, the smaller curves of the first springings of the head above the jambs are of moderate radius, while those forming the continuations up to the apex are of so large a radius that they become straight lines. Such windows occur in churches of the earlier portion of the fifteenth century, though they are rare, and of unpleasing effect. On one of the outer jambs of this window occurs the crossed stone mentioned above, with the date "Año Dni m cccc xx", if, indeed, the rubbing from which the engraving is taken be correct. The lettering is, how-

ever, much corroded by weather, and the last two numerals indicate a period earlier than the style of the building. In each of the north and south walls is a square-headed two-light window; and under the southern one opens the doorway leading to St. Eilian's chapel. The original stall-work of the chancel remains, very rude, but in good condition: some of its designs on the bench ends are given in the plate of illustrations. The roof is quite flat, like that of the nave, boarded, with principals and ribs deeply moulded; the principals having their spandrils richly cut into vigorous representations of seaweed, and resting on stone corbels, in front of which are affixed boards representing angels playing alternately on trumpets and bagpipes.



A bench, with unusually good carving at the back, shows the text *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo;*

and underneath this is the figure of a female kneeling, probably the effigy of the donor.

A stone monumental slab bears the following inscription:—

DEPOSITVM
GVLIELMI . LLOYD . ARTI
VM . MRI . ERIS . DE . LLANELI
AN . ERVDITIONE . PRVDENT
IA . ET . PIETATE . INSIGNIT
ER . ORNATI . QVI . OBIIT . 29
DIE . AVG . ANNO . ÆTATIS .
SVÆ . 69 . ANNO . DMI . 1661.

On another slab is a coat of arms, bearing a lion rampant crowned, with a crescent in the dexter chief; and under this, surmounted by a cherub's head, the inscription—

“To the memory of
William Lloyd Clerk
a Younger Son
of William Lloyd
of Llandoget Gen.
Who was Minister of
this parish 32 years
And a true friend
to his Church
Dyed June 13th, 1739,
Aged 57.”

The passage to St. Eilian's chapel goes off diagonally, forming a small ante-chapel; and a second doorway leads into the chapel itself. This is said traditionally to have replaced one standing on the site of the saint's original house of prayer, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition. The actual building, however, is of the same date and style as the rest of the church. It is only fourteen feet six inches long by twelve feet six inches wide, with a pointed window of two lights cinquefoiled in the eastern wall; and a square-headed window, of the sixteenth century, of two lights in the southern. Recesses for seats are in the western and northern walls. In the eastern wall, south of the altar, is a small ambry; north of the altar, and

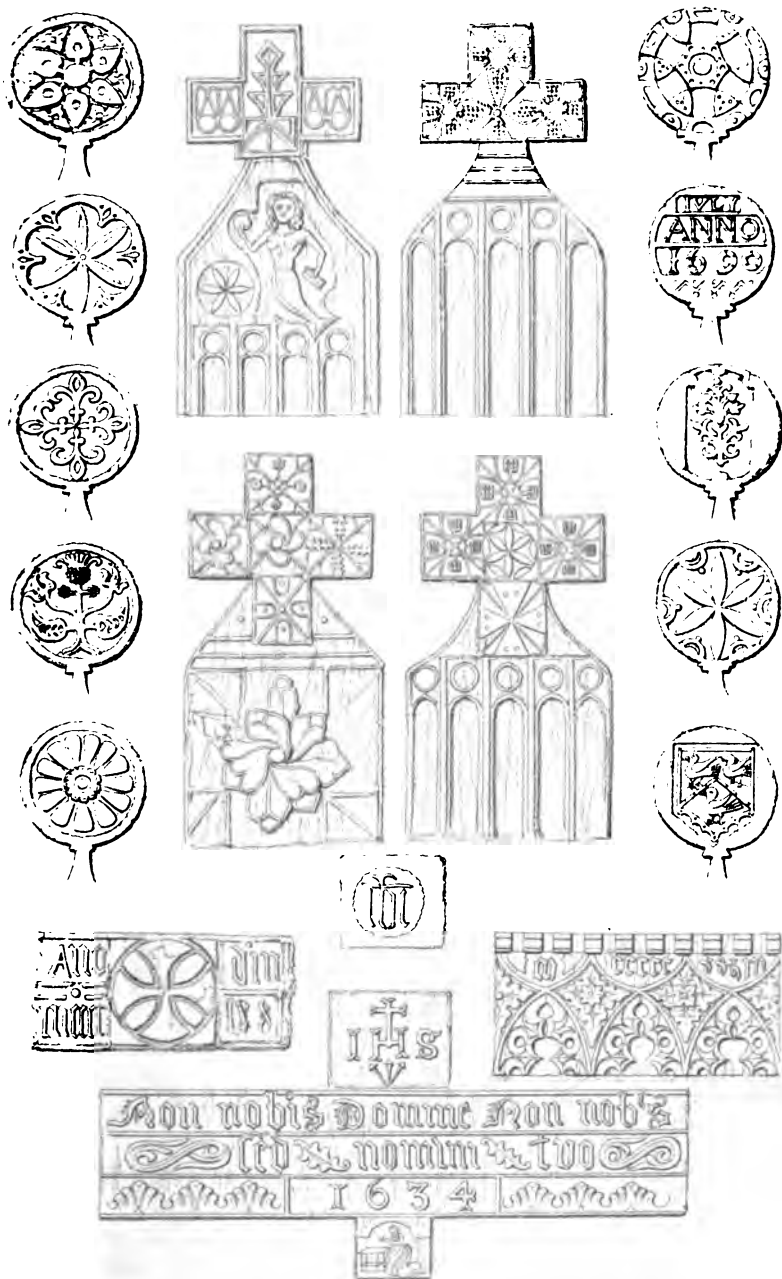
eighteen inches above the pavement, is a small stone bench, projecting from the wall, whereon one person might be seated; and underneath this a regularly formed opening, eighteen inches wide by eight inches deep, runs right through into the open air; while close by, in the northern wall, a smaller opening is perforated, just above the pavement, right through into the open air in the same manner. We are at a loss to conjecture the purpose of these openings, though they look as if intended to serve as drains for the introduction and emission of water or air.

The altar may be described as a wooden shrine detached from the wall, with a flat back and ends, but with five sides, projecting polygonally, separated by ribs moulded as buttresses, and the panels, square-headed, filled with tracery. It is more than three feet high, and five feet two inches long: one of the panels has been removed; and the superstition still exists that any person getting inside the shrine, and turning round within it before getting out, will be cured of any disease he may have. The pavement in front of the shrine, or altar, is arranged in a peculiar manner; and we conjecture that upon it the sick person, who came to pray for recovery, was laid, while prayers were offered up in his behalf.

A lectern of the seventeenth century, and an oaken chest formed of a solid tree, with many locks, and the date 1667 worked on it in nails, stand in this chapel.

The roof is similar to that of the chancel, but without angels at the corbels. Traces of colouring may be observed on the principals (as well, indeed, as on the splay of the east window), and no doubt the roofs all throughout the building were highly decorated with colour.

The general character of the outside of the building will be observed in the accompanying engraving. On each of the buttresses are crossed circles incised, marking as many "stations" round the church. Crosses capped all the gables.



after the original in the church

LLANELLIAN CHURCH, ANGLESEY.

Details

The lichgate has a pointed arch under a stepped gable, surmounted by a plain cross. The shaft of the churchyard cross, on a base of three steps, remains near the entrance to the southern porch.

The whole edifice is so remarkable from its state of preservation, and the completeness of its ritual arrangements, that it is deserving of a careful restoration. With regard to Saint Eilian or Elian, under whose invocation it was erected, we find the following in Rees's *Welsh Saints*:—

“Elian Geimiad was the son of Gallgu Rieddog ab Carcludwys, of the line of Cadrod Calchfynydd, and his mother was Canna, a daughter of Tewdwr Mawr o Lydaw, and widow of Sadwrn. The epithet ‘Ceimiad’ (pilgrim) has, by one writer,¹ been changed into ‘Cannaid’ (bright), to correspond with the Latin Hilarius; but the conjecture was unnecessary, as the sound of the name Elian, which the Welsh have thought convertible with Hilary,² is sufficient to account for the confusion. Elian is celebrated in the superstitions of the Principality: miraculous cures were lately supposed to be performed at his shrine at Llanelian, Anglesey;³ and near to the church of Llanelian, Denbighshire, is a well called Ffynnon Elian, which is thought by the peasantry of the neighbourhood to be endued with miraculous powers even at present. His wake is held in the month of August, while the festival of St. Hilary occurs on the 13th of January.”

To this we may add that a picture, commonly called the portrait of the saint, is hung against the front of the rood loft; it is a production of Italian art of the seventeenth century, representing a saint seated at his devotions, and is said to have been one of many which formerly adorned the church, afterwards sold, but the history of which is altogether obscure.

H. L. J.

¹ The author of the *History of Anglesey*.

² In the Welsh calendar, St. Hilary is styled Elian Esgob.

³ History of Anglesey, 1775.

LETTERS OF EDWARD LHWYD.

*(Continued from VOL. VI., p. 184.)**Date and part of first line torn off.*

D.F.—Though I have noe great matter of to communicate to you, yet to disengage myself of my promise I shall trouble you with a few lines relating to my Irish pilgrimage, from which I am 2 days since returned hither. The provost of the college and some fellows of the philosophical society there, being made acquainted (by what letters I brought them) of my buysnesse in that country, they told me that about 70 miles off in the c. of Tiperari there was a small hill that produced all plants whatsoever that were natives of Ireland, and that if I resolved to goe thither they would give me a guide that could speak Irish out of the college garden, and a letter to a gentleman near the hill. I was too well acquainted with hills, and also with vulgar traditions, to beleive anything of this story; however, being resolved to goe a good way into the country, and having no other directions, I thought it best to undertake the journey. The hill grew more famous still as I went on in my journey, there being scarce any man or woman but had heard of it, and could tell lyes enough of it; more particularly an apothecary in Kilkenny told me, that for certain, hysop and garden thyme grew there, and about 26 sorts of Alpine plants had been found there by one Dr. Fenil, an eminent physician and botanist. Having searched it all over (for 'twas not soe big as Shotover) I found noe rarer plants than Tutsan, Columbine, Catsfoot, Maidenhair, Wallrue, Harts-tongue, Common Speedwell, and such like. Soe much for the Irish traditions, which, of all nations, come the nearest, perhaps, to a dream. In my return I diverted myself for some time in viewing a Popish Church. Of this I must beg leav to give you a rude description; but it falls out that the homelier it be, the more agreeable it is to the subject. In shape it resembled a pedlar's stall; 'twas in length 25 foot, in breadth 12, in height about 14 or 15. At the alter end walld up, at the other open to the top; its walls were of green clods, on the inside of which grew almost as many plants (spontaneously) as on the hill above mentioned; that part of the roof above the alter cover'd with straw (not to say thatchd), the rest naked; the rafters were birch bows gently pruned. The altar (?) consisted of 2 stakes knocked into the sayd mud wall,

fastened . . . two others stuck in the ground upright with ligaments of straw . . . (Nostrat. Rhephyn pen bawd). These 4 stakes were such as some husbandmen would be ashamed to stick in a hedge. On the 2 crosse stakes lay the table, which to describe briefly and truly I shall call yskyron alhan o gyph, and sic manum de tabulâ.

The Irish tongue hath many primitive words common with our language, yet is as unintelligible to us perhaps as Arabic. I belive its composd of old British, old Danish, Biscay, and perhaps several others. Some of them told me that their poets, and such others as are expert in their language, have at least 20 words for every particular notion. I have enclosed a catalogue of several words which I thought agreeable to some in our language. The Irish seem'd to me, when they spoke, to have the same tone that woemen have with us when they bewail anything. I had the curiosity to desire an old woeman to repeat the Lord's prayer in Latin, which she did, but in such a sort, that had she not told me beforehand what she was about to say, I should hardly have understood what language she spoke, much lesse what she said. However I judged it should let it passe for current Latin in case she herself understood what she said; but having asked her what she meant when she said *geishin shelis* (viz., qui es in cœlis), she answered me, *Why, that's one of the words.*

I have inclos'd a catalogue of their lemmas at the commencement in the college. Most of them did, I thought, very well, except some fellow commoners, who abusd miserably a great deal of good verse. One Dr. Mollyneux, M.D., shewed me the best collection of books relating to natural history that I have seen, which he has purchased all himself, in order to write a *Pinax rerum naturalium* of that iland. He was treating with me about my assistance therein; and, if no disturbance intervene, we are likely to begin next spring.

Dr. Ketting, who is often quoted by the Irish historians, is now a printing at Dublin in English, which I suppose (unless they purge it) will appear much more ridiculously fabulous than our Geoffrey. The Irish have no dictionary of their language; no grammar now to be met with; their alphabet seemed to me as confus'd as the French. They have several schools in the country where they read philosophy, and their method therein, as I was inform'd, is the same with the Spaniards. I was told in the county of Keri, and elsewhere in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, the ordinary cow-keepers and shepherds, etc., can speak Latin; the truth whereof I dare not question, having had my information from Dr.

Marsh, Bishop of Fierns and Loighlyn. But it's likely I have tired your patience by this time, and therefore I shall only adde my humble respects to Mr. Jones, Mr. Price, Jack Lloyd, and S^r G^w, and subscribe myself,

Your most assured friend and serv^t,

EDWARD LHWYD.

Desire Jack Lloyd to pres. my serv. to his namesake when he writes to him, and if he thinks anything here acceptable to him, I suppose you may easily spare these papers when you have read them.

For Mr. Richard Jones, at Bryn y phynon in Wrexham.

Leave it with Mr. Robert Davies at Lhan Rwt.

(Endorsed with this address, except the last line a second time, and also in another part of the same page, half scratched over, are the words,—

“ For James Goodwin, Papist.”)

Oxf^d. (date illegible.)

DEAR SIR—I am sorry I mised the opportunity of returning you a letter by the same hand you sent your last. It so fell out that I had not yours til the man that brought it was gone out of town. The preferment mentioned in my last has been lately, as I am inform'd, tender'd to Mr. S. W., who, I suppose, for several reasons, has declin'd it. I suppose they are still unprovided, and must at last take up with one that wants the qualification they require. But to say no mote on this subject, I recommend to your curiosity (as you meet with opportunity and leasure) the accurat copying of such inscriptions, as you mentioned in one of your last letters. Not that I am desirous of them upon this present occasion; but that I would encourage you by all means to continue your observations on such antiquities as will occurre to you in our country, and make that study hereafter part of your diversion, wherein you seem to me to have made no small improvement since our late correspondence on that subject.

You are doubtlesse mistaken as to the cause you assigne, relating to those two G. They are more for politics than religion; and, tho' I would not judge hastily and uncharitably of any man, yet I'll venture to say that 'tis ten to one they'll never suffer so much for conscience as the honest old veteran,

of whom I have heard Dr. Wyn say several times, "*That's a brave man; that man has done more than us all,*" etc.

The undertakers of Camden have lately been put back by the death of one Mr. Harrington of Christchurch, who was a gentleman of vast acquaintance and interest, and had undertaken the management of most part of it. But now 'twill goe on apace, for they have employed one Mr. Gibson of Queen's College (who is a very stirring as well as ingenious young man) to oversee the whole work and to help deliver it of the presse; so that they hope to have it out by Michaelmasse term. I shall without fayl deliver up the charge of my province before the 15 of March, and then I must fall to the drudgery of drawing a catalogue of the MSS. in our Ashmolean library, which are about six hundred columns, and in some volumes six hundred titles or different discourses. I think a great part of them uselesse to learning, and those are of judiciary astrology; and some old monkish chymistry and physic. This I shall take the liberty of passing over slightly, but shall take more pains with the rest. The last that had the scholarship of Mr. Lloyd of Berthlwyd, was one John Parry of Lhan Vylhin. I suppose he has no benefit from it now, but 'tis not yet pronounced vacant. Mr. Anwyl (who is almost as negligent as the cronie) is not yet returned to Oxford. I have no room to adde any more than my respects to all friends, particularly that obliging gent, Dr. Foulks.

I am, S^r, y^r affectionat kinsman and servant,

ED. LHWYD.

For the Rev. Mr. J. Lloyd,

Scholemaster at Ruthyn, Denbighshire.

Chester post.

This letter is endorsed "Ne-Ll. Feb. 4th," and this may assign part of the date; the rest may be deduced from the first edition of *Gibson's Camden* mentioned in it.

August the 21st, Jesus Coll. Oxon.

SIR,—I returne you many thanks for your great kindnesse and trouble in procureing the plants you sent me, which, had they come according to your design, the last return of the carrier, would doubtlesse have been in very good order to be planted. Neverthelesse, although they suffered much injurie in the carriage, we have yet some hopes of recovering them, for the roots still seem to be somewhat fresh; and (wherein

our greatest hopes lies) wee found amongst them one ripe berry with seeds in, which wee *buried* with them in hopes of their *resurrection* the next spring. I cannot tell how to requite this great kindnesse of yours, but shall always wish for an opportunitie of serving you, and assure yourself that you shall find me as willing as you were readie in obliging me thereunto. As for the plants you design'd to send by the carrier this last time, pray doe'n't trouble yourself about them. But your brother and I have now an other request to you, which (it may be) you'l wonder at till you are well acquainted with the meaning of it. He has bought himselfe a large handsome paper book of about 5 quires, in which we are gumming of patterns of plants, commonly such as are met with in flower, either in the fields hereabouts, or in the physick garden, and as many as we know in Welsh. That you might more playnly understand our meaning, we have sent you a small pocket-book, with a plant or two gum'd in; but you'l suppose this book doubtlesse to be quite an other thing from what that seems to be. Now, your brother telling me that you live somewhere near Cader Dhimael and Cader Ferwin, I am fully perswaded that you may procure several rare patterns of plants, which may further our design in order of compleating the book; wherein, if you are pleased to divert yourselfe for 2 or 3 fayr days, you must proceed thus. Take this booke that we have sent you in your pocket, and rideing to one of these hills, or any other of such a height; find out some rill of water that comes down from the top, and goe up along that as high as you can safely; and when you have gone up a quarter of a mile or thereabouts, gather 2 or 3 patterns of every sort of plant that you see; when you have done along the water, you may wander about the rocks or other part of the hill where you please; but by the rills of water and amongst the rocks are found doubtlesse the greatest varietie. There will be some sorts of plants soe small in these rills, that, unlesse you are very curious, you will scarce find them out. The manner of laying them in your book is thus: crop as much of the plant as you can easilie put in the book (the flower to be sure of those that are in flower), and the leaf besides in the next page. Spread it upon the left side of your book, letting as few leaves as you can lie upon one an other; then turn over the right hand leaf, and lay an other on the left page, and soe proceed, placing but one pattern between 2 pages. Think it not ridiculousse to put in 2 or 3 patterns of all sorts of shrubs that you meet with, as heath or grüg, whereof you may observe 3 or 4 sorts; all sorts of mosses, specially *corn y carw*, or any other

that's like it; *gurdhling*, *llys*, whereof you may observe 2 or 3 sorts, or any thing else of what nature soever, that the fore-sayd mountains produce. Aran Benllyn, I hear, is too far from you, else I am sure you might find there twice as many rare plants as on either of the forementioned hills. Divers gentlemen have gon from London, Oxford, and Cambridge to Snowdon, Cader Idris, and Plinhimmon in search of plants; but I finde there were never any at Aran Benllyn; the reason, I suppose may be, because it is not so famous for height as the forementioned hills; but to my knowledg it produces as many rarities as Cader Idris, and more than Plinhimmon, although it was but a very untimely season that I was at it, being last April was twelvemounth. But to conclude this tedious discourse, and to assure you that this will be of noe frivolous importance, I shall take leave to tell you that to my knowledg there are plants sent hither, not only from the utmost corners of this kingdom, but likewise from France, Italy, Germany, etc., which are scarce so considerable for their rarities as some which grow very common upon our mountains.

Pray excuse the tediousnesse of this discourse; and accept of the respects and service of your ffaythfull kinsman and servant,

EDW. LLOYD.

I must confesse this is a litle with the latest in the year, and it may be an unfit season with you likewise. The carrier stays now a week longer than ordinary. Whatever you please to gather for us, we should be very glad to receive by the next returne, otherwise it will be too late in the year for you to find any. For the first 3 days after you have gathered your plants, you would doe very well to carry your book in your pocket, and after lay it on a window.

For Mr. David Lloyd, of Blaen y Ddol,
near Ruge, in Merionethshire, North Wales.

To be left at Mrs. Katherin Lloyd's, in Ruthin.

Endorsed, "Ed. Lhwyd to David Lloyd, Aug. 20th, 168."

Oxford, Dec. 13.

DEAR S^a,—Mr. Nicolson, whose book I hope you have received ere this, is a person of excellent sense and good nature; but of a free, honest humour, as having a greater regard to truth (if I mistake not) than his reader's censures. Upon further perusal, you have found, doubtlesse, that he is not more favourable to the living than the dead, insomuch that he has

offended several in this University and elsewhere. Particularly one Wormius, a Dane, who is printing here an Island book, is very free with him in his preface; and Dr. Bernard will doubtless take notice of him in his preface to the Catalogue of Manuscripts.

I heartily wish you may prevail with Thomas Jones and Mr. Williams, tho' (having too much task otherwise) I dare not promise to undertake an edition of the Welsh Dictionary. I design, indeed, to collect what I can during my travails towards it; but I would have none depend on me for an edition, because it must be many years (if ever) before I print it. If the book be, therefore, generally wanted, you will do well to encourage some other person better qualified for it, whereof there are several, I am sure, in North Wales; nor can I see any reason why you might not undertake it yourself. We have none in the college at present that have any relish to our Welsh poetry, in regard they are wholly strangers to it; but if you please to employ Mr. Rogers to write a fayr book of the oldest Cowydh-eu, etc., I'll readily allow him for his pains whatever you order; but I must have him observe religiously the same orthography he finds in the manuscripts; and, when this is done, perhaps I may find him some other employment. As to subscriptions, I know not what directions to give you. I would not have you hazard the least offence to any gentleman on my account. If you hear any mention, of their own account, that they are willing to subscribe, produce one of the papers, and give him a receipt of the money whenever he is pleased to pay it.

There are about three score manuscripts at Hengwrt (Latin and Welsh), written at least 300 years since. I thought I had met with one about a thousand years standing, many of the letters, as R, T, Z, &c., being capital, and occurring in the midst of words; but upon further perusal I found it contains some of the works of Cyndhelw Brydydh Mawr, who lived a° 1250, tho' the rest were of Merdhyn Wylht, Taliesin, Lhowarch Hen, and one Kynogio Elaeth; whom I had never heard of before. Dear S^r, when you have perus'd the enclos'd (which I put into the press yesterday), let me know your thoughts and directions how to have them dispersed in your county.

I am y^m most affectionately,

EDW. LHWYD.

You told me Dr. Foulks would never let me know my subscribers, which (hearing nothing from him all this while) is like to prove very true.

For the Rev. Mr. John Lloyd, at Gwersylht,
near Wrexham, Denbighshire.
Chester post. Post p^d to Lond. 4^d.

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

STACKPOLE-ELIDYR, OR CHERITON, PEMBROKESHIRE.

THE parish church of this place has, within the last few years, been restored, like so many others in Castle-martin Hundred, by the munificence of the late Earl of Cawdor. The works were admirably conducted by Mr. G. G. Scott, in the style of the fourteenth century, the date of the building, and it now constitutes one of the most beautiful parochial churches in that county. On some future occasion, it is to be hoped that an architectural description of this and other churches in Pembrokeshire will be given to the Association; but the building is now mentioned because it contains one of the early inscribed stones in which that county is rich.

On the south side of the chancel is a small chapel, or chantry, in which the Lorts, and other former possessors of Stackpole, are interred. Here the original stone altar is preserved, and the upper surface of the slab presents the inscription of which an engraving is annexed. The stone is of the old red sandstone formation, inclining to split off in laminæ, although very hard; and this circumstance has injured some of the letters, as will be readily perceived from the engraving. The inscription reads as follows:—

**CAMV ORISI
FILI FANNVCI**

The missing letters in the first line may have been **LL** or **CL**; but there is some degree of uncertainty about them. The drawing of this stone was taken with the greatest care: rubbings under favourable circumstances were secured; and Mr. Utting has rendered all the accidents of the stone with the greatest fidelity. It will be observed that the **I** at the end of each line is placed horizontally,—a peculiarity observed in other stones in Wales; as for instance, in one of the inscrip-



INSCRIPTION.—STACKPOLE.

tions at Clydai, in the north of the same county. From the absence of minuscule characters,—from the symmetry and regularity of the forms of the letters,—an early date may be assigned to this inscription. In the last line the letter **N** assumes a somewhat debased, but not unusual form; and, without naming any precise epoch, it may be safely assumed that this inscription is not later than the seventh century. No cross exists on the stone, nor are there any Oghamic marks on the edges. It may be conjectured, therefore, that when the church was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, the stone found either in the foundation or covering the grave of the person commemorated, probably a layman, was taken from its original position, used for the altar in the chantry, then added to the church, and judiciously placed with its inscribed side uppermost. The name in the first line is a new one for Welsh historians; but that in the second bears a certain analogy to a name lately observed at Delamere (?) in Devonshire, where an inscription reads,—

S A G R A M N I
F A N O N I
M A Q V I R I N I

But some Oghams on the edge of the stone give to the middle name the disputed translation of—

S F A Q Q V C I
 or **S F A N N V N I**
 or **S F A N N V C I**

This latter inscription will, no doubt, be properly discussed by English antiquaries, unless, indeed, they are anticipated by members of our own Association. Meanwhile the analogy which is thus shown to the stone at St. Dogmael's, and to this at Cheriton, should be carefully borne in mind.

H. L. J.

CARNARVONSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

FROM A MS. COMMUNICATED BY T. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

NOTES TO BEE OBSERVED BEFORE YOU LETT YOUR SURVAY
PASSE YOUR HANDES.

HELIG ap Glannog ap Gwgan gledde hyfryd ap Caradog Vreichfras, Earle of Hereford, ap Llyr Mereini ap Einion yrth ap Cunedda wyledig.

The sonnes of Cunedda beyng arived in North Wales, divided the countrey amongst them for there inheritance. Meireaon, the sonn of Tibicion, the sonn of Cunedda, had cantref Meireaon to his parte; Arustell, the sonn of Cunedda, had cantref Arustly; Caredig ap Cunedda had Caerdigion, now Cardiganshire; Dunod had cantref Dunodig; Edeyrn hadd Edeyrnion; Mael had Dinmael; Coel had Coleyon; Dogvael hadd Dogveilyn; Rhyvaon hadd Rheiviniog, now Denbigh land; Einionyrrth hadd Caereinion in Powis; Usso hadd Maesoswallt, nowe Oswestre.

Cunedda had his right to the principality or kingdom of North Wales, as to his owne inheritance descended unto hym from his mother Gavawl, second daughter to Coel Godebog, and sister to Elen Lueddog the mother of Constantine the Greate, begotten upon the body of Gladwen, or Geradwen, his wife, daughter unto Cadvan, sonn unto Conan, sonn unto Eudaf, etc.

Einion ap Cunedda, who was Lord of Caer-einion, hadd issue Llyr Mereini, who hadd issue Caradog, surnamed Vreichfras, Earle of Hereford, called by the Saxons Caradog the Stronge, or Caradog the Valiant; who, in right of his wife Gwinever, was afterwarde kinge of North Wales, who hadde many greates conflicties with the Romanes. Caradog had issue Gwgan Gledde hyfryd, who had issue Glannog, father to this same Helig ap Glannog.

This Helig ap Glannog was Lord of Abergele, Rhos, Arllechwedd, Llyn, Cantred Gwaylod, and Earle of

Hereford. In his tyme happened the greate innundacōn which surrounded Cantred Gwaylod and the most delicate, ffruytfull and pleasant vale lyinge from Bangor Vawr yn Gwynedd to Gogarth, and so to Tiganwy, or Gannog Castle in leangth, and in breadth from Dwygyfylchi to the point of Flintshire which came up from Ruthlan to Priestholme; and in the upper end thereof did extend in breadth from Aber and Llanfair unto the river Ell, which did devide Caernarvonshire from Anglesey, and did likewise devide Anglesey from Flintshire, runnyng betweene Penmaen and Priestholme, and so dischardgyng ytt sealf into the sea a greate way beyond Priestholme; and did surround many other riche and ffruytfull bottoms and vales within the counties of Caernarvon, Fflint, Anglesey, and Merionedd; moste of them beinge the landes of Helig ap Glannog, whose chiefest pallace stood in this vale, muche about the mydle way ffrom Penmen Mawr to Gogarth (in Englishe, Armes Head), the ruynes whereof is now to bee seene, upon a ground ebbe, some two myles within the sea, directly over against Trwyn yr Wylva; which is a hill beyng in the myddest of the parishe of Dwygyfylchi, within the landes of Sir John Bodvil, Knighte: unto which hill Helig ap Glannog and his people did run upp to save themselves beyng endaungered with the sudden breakyng in of the sea uppon them, and there saved their lyves. And beyng come upp to the poynte of that hill, and lookyng backe and behouldyng that dreadfull and ruthfull spectacle which they hadd to survey and looke uppon, insteade of there incomparable vale which did abound in ffruytfullness, and excell all other vales in this parte of England in all ffertility and plentifullness. Helig ap Glannog and all his people, wringing there handes together, made a greate outcry, bewaylinge there misfortune, and calling unto God ffor mercy; the point of which hill, to this day, is called Trwyn yr Wylfa,—that is to say, the point of the dolefull hill, or the mournyng hill.

Helig ap Glannog hadd an other manor house at

Pwllheli, the ruynes whereof is to be seene near unto the house of Owen Madryn, on the right hand as you goe out of the towne towards Abererch. This town was called Pwllhelig, and of late Pwllheli, by taking away the letter *g* from thende of the worde.

He lived for the moste parte att either of both these houses, being absolute lord of the sweetest vale in all N. Wales, Rhos and Arllechweth, then mearyngye, north and west upon Fflintshire and Anglesey. And sythence this inundacōn, the commotte of Cruthyn, which is in Rhos, and now parte of Caernarvonshire, meareth north and west uppon the mayne sea, which surrounded that upper pointe of Fflintshire and Arllechweth, beyng subdivided into three commottes, that is, Nan-conwy, Llechwedd Issa, and Llechwedd Ucha. Llechwedd Ucha doth meare north-west uppon the mayne sea that surrounded the delicate vale aforesd; and in the upper end of the sayd commotte, vidzt. from Penmen Maur to Bangor, doth meare north and west uppon the great washe called Traeth Ell; so called from the ryver Ell (formerly the meare between Carnarvonshire and Anglesey), as Traeth Mawr hath his denomination from the ryver Mawr which dischardgeth itself through that washe into the mayne sea; and ytt is alsoe called Traeth yr Laven,—as much as to say, Traeth Aflawen, that is, an unpleasant wharffe; because ytt is an unpleasant sygt unto the spectators, and a fearefull and dismal objecte unto the eyes of thinhabitants, brynginge them dayly in minde how unhappy they weare to loose soe ffayre, soe ffruitful, and soe feartill a countrey beyng beaten backe with unpleasant, overwhelmyng waves, to inhabit and dwell in higher groundes, uppon the edges and skyrtes of the hills and mountaignes.

From this same Helig ap Glannog are descended most of the pryme men within the county of Caernarvon. In Llechwedd Ucha, Iarddur, the prime tribe of that commotte, did descend lineally from him; and soe did Maelog Crwn, who was the tribe of Llechwedd

Issa ; and Cruthyn Iarddur was the sonn of Kynddelw ap Trahayarne ap Bod ap Kysgen ap Helig ap Glannog ; and Maelog Crwn was the son of Llowarch Goch, the sonn of Llowarch Holback, the sonn of Pill (?), the sonn of Eynan, the sonn of Einiga, the sonn of Gwrid(?) Goch, the son of Helig ap Glannog. From Iarddur are descended all the gentlemen, esqrs., knyghtes, and lordes, as doe clayme or pretend themselves to be aunciently descended, or doe aunciently houlde any landes within the commotte of Ucharfe ; ffor Iarddur was owner of all the landes in that commotte (amongest many other thinges), savyng Aber and Wieg, which did belonge to the prince, which his posterity have sythence healde by pattent ffor many yeeres. Iarddur heald his lands *in capite* from the prince, and died havynge issue two sonnes, Madog and Yerwarth. Madog beyng thereunto requyred, did attend and searve the prince in person in the warres, as by the tenure of his landes hee was bound to doe. But Yerwarth denyed his service ; therefore the prince seased uppon all his landes, and graunted the same, togyther with the whole armes of Iarddur, unto Madog ap Iarddur, the eldest brother ; which Madog enioyed accordingly, and did beare armes.

Madog, afterwarde enioyinge the whole landes and armes, out of his affection towards his brother Yerwarth, gave unto his sayd brother parte of the landes and parte of the armes.

From Madog ap Iarddur did lineally descend Rees Vauchan, who was his heyre male. Rees Vauchan was sonn to Robte Vauchan, sonn to Ieuan Vauchan, sonn to Madog, sonn to Howell, sonn to Gruffyth, sonn to David, sonn to Tudyr, sonn to Madog ap Iarddur. Rees Vauchan, notwithstandinge our gavelkynd tenure, was owner of greate landes and poss'ions in Angles(ey), Caernarvonshire, and Fflintshire. Hee was Esquier ffor the body unto Richard the Thyrd, and did attend him in his privy chamber, and by pattent was free denizen within England. Hee had purchased ffrom the kinge three goodly manors near Whitchurch, and hadd purchased Aber and Cemmaes and Wieg, and diverse other

things, which weare all taken from hym when Henry the Seaventh came in. To this Rees Vauchan, Kynge Richard the Thirde did drinke the laste wyne hee dranke. When the kinge sawe that Stanley was become a turnecote, and that all the Welshmen had revoulted from hym, hee called ffor a bowle of wyne, sittynge on horseback in his compleate armour; and when the wyne was brought unto hym, he called unto Rees Vauchan, and dranke unto hym in these wordes: Here Vauchan, I will drinke to thee, the truest Welshman that ever I ffound in Wales; and havynge drunke, threwe the bowle over his head, and made towards his enemies, where he was immediately slayne. Hereuppon Rees Vauchan loste all his landes (which was all begged by newe courtiers) before he coulde obteyne his p'don, savynge that little which he left to his two sonns, Piers ap Rees and Edmond ap Rees; and soe Piers had issue Will'm Coytmor, and Edmond ap Rees had issue Thomas Wynn ap Edmond.

From the body of Madog ap Iarrrdur you shall find non that healde landes, lineally in the paternal lyne, within this commotte or elsewhere, but Will'm Coytmor and Thomas Wynn ap Edmond; but from a daughter you shall find that the Right Reverend (and Right Hon.) John Bu^{pps} of Lincolne, Lord Keep. of his Ma^{ties} greate seale of England, and one of his Ma^{ties} most honorable Privy Councill, is descended from Madog ap Iarrrdur, and houldeth the ffyrst landes which his ancestors hadd in Penrhyn from that graundmother; and soe from Madog ap Iarrrdur: vidzt., hee is John Bu^{pps} of Lincolne, sonn to Edmond, sonn to Dorithy, daughter to Sir William, sonn to Sir Will'm, sonn to Will'm Vauchan, sonn to Gwyllym, sonn to Gruffyth, sonn to Angharad, daughter to Gruffyth, sonn to David, sonn to Tudor, sonn to Madog ap Iarrrdur. And next unto Penrhyn, the best ffreehoulder that heald landes from Madog ap Iarrrdur, was John ap W'm ap Reignalld, of Twdduglase in the commotte of Ucharfe, who healed three hundred poundes a yeere, and more, from Madog

ap Iarddur; for hee was John, the sonn of Will'm, the sonn of Gwenllian, daughter and heyre unto Gruffyth, sonn unto Hulkyn, sonn unto Ieuan, sonn unto Howell, sonn unto Madog ap Iarddur. Soe that I cann fynd non ells that houldeth landes from Madog ap Iarddur, in this commotte, but these ffoure ffyrst above men-cōed: the two ffyrst by paternall descent, and the two laste (though within these ffew later ages exceedynge them in meanes and poss'ons) by maternall discent.

In the commotte of Ucharfe there are likewise two masculynes that are lineally descended ffrom the younger brother Yerwarth ap Iarddur, vidzt., Thomas Wynn ap Mores, of Gorddinog; and Roberte ap Richard, of Llanfair Vechan. Thomas Wynn ap Mores beynge heire male of the body of Yerwarth ap Iarddur, healde the chieffest seate, Gorddinog; he being Thomas, sonn unto Mores, sonn unto John, sonn unto Rees, sonn unto Gwill'm, sonn unto Ieuan Lloyd, sonn unto Gruffyth, sonn unto Gronw, sonn unto Hoel, sonn unto Kynvrig, sonn unto Yerwarth ap Iarddur. And the pryde and chieffest habitac'on and dwellinge house which Yerwarth hadd, and wherein Ieuan Lloyd did liekwiese dwell, although theere landes and poss'ions weare then very greate, was the house of Gorddinog; ffrom which house (sythence Ieuan Lloyds tyme), there bee very many copartners; and Ieuan Lloyds landes (which yf itt weare now entier belongynge to Gorddinog, as in his tyme ytt was) woulde be worth about 2000*l.*, is nowe pted (parted) and devided at leaste amongst a hundred psors.

Roberte ap Richard, of Llanfair Vechan, beynge descended from a brother out of Gorddinog house, healde his landes liekwiese from Yerwarth ap Iarddur, he being thus descended, vidzt., Roberte, the sonn of Richard, the sonn of Roberte, the sonn of Will'm, the sonn of Meredydd, the sonn of Rees, the sonn of Ieuan. Lloyd, the sonn of Gronw, the sonn of Howell, the sonn of Kynvrig, the sonn of Yerwarth, the sonn of Iarddur. All his landes weare the landes of Ieuan Lloyd, and belonging to Gorddinog, and formerly the landes

of Yerwarth ap Iarddur, savynge certeyne concealed landes which lay intermixt with and amongst his ffreehould, which heretofore weare the landes of Bleddyn Rwth and fforfeited; which concealed landes are now the landes of Thomas Bulkley.

The chieffest and pryme branch which descendeth, and houldeth most landes, from Yerwarth ap Iarddur, this day in the commott of Ucharfe, is Cochwillan house; for thence my Lo. Keeper; he is John Bu^{pp} of Lincoln, sonn unto Edmond, sonn unto Will'm, sonn unto Will'm, sonn unto Will'm, sonn unto Gryffyth, sonn unto Angharad, daughter and heire to Rees, sonn to Gruffyth, sonn to Gronw, sonn to Howell, sonn to Kynvrig, sonn unto Yerwarth ap Iarddur. The number of such esquiers and gentlemen as houlde landes lineally from Iarddur, in right of there mothers and grandmothers, within the counties of Angle's, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Flint, are infynitt. I expresse none heere but such as offer themsealves unto us in this provynce. As ffor Robert Owen Bodscalyn, he was a straunger by byrthe in this commotte, and healde but very little landes from Evan Lloyd; and that hee healde, he had from Male (?), the daughter of Ieuan Lloyd, who was married to Llywelyn ap Hulkin, who hadd issue Meirig, who hadd issue John, who hadd issue Robert, who hadd issue Owen, who hadd issue Robert Owen, that last was who did dwell at Bodscalyn, by reason his mother hadd Trergoc for tearme of lyeffe, and by reason he was secondly married to Lowry Coytmor, who (beyinge once settled att Bodscalyn, beyng but a small tenēnt and an uncouth habitatōn) would not remove from thence to Trergoc soe ffarr from her friendes, thoughe ytt was a better dwellynge. But the moste landes that Robert Owen hadd in the commott of Ucharfe was the thyrd part of the landes of David ap Will'm ap Gruffyth, ap Robyn which came unto hym from his mother Angharad Vch Ddavid ap Will'm, who was copartner with her sister Jane and her sister Agnes, of which lande Syr John Bodvil, Knight, hadd the purpart belongynge

unto Jane, Robte Owen the purparte of Angharad, and David Lloyd ap Rees the purparte of Agnes.

By these braunches above menco'ed every understandyng man may knowe how many honorable worⁿ (worshipful) and worthy personages ellswere (out of this commotte) both in the county of Caernarvon, and in the countyes adjoyninge are descended ffrom Iarddur and soe from Helig ap Glannog, and nowe eminent men. And all the pettygrees derived from Madog Crwm. The tribe of Llechweth Issa and Cruthyn are descended from this worthy stocke. Helig ap Glannog which we treat of, Helig ap Glannog hadd three sonns that weare holy men, and canonized for saints, vidzt. Boda, and Gwyn, who were both sainttes in Dwygyfylchi, and doe lie buried at the end of the church in a little chappell annexed to the west end of the church, and another sonn called Brothen, who did searve God, and lyeth buried in Llanvrothen in Merioneddshire.

Seiriol, brother to Helig ap Glannog, was termed the holy priest, and was head of the religious house in Priestholme, in Fflintshire, which house was called Priestholme, from Seiriol, who was the holy priest, and in Welshe sythence the inundacon is called Ynys Seiriol. This Seiriol hadd allso an hermitage at Penmen Mawr, and there hadd a chappell where he did bestowe much of his tyme in prayers, the place beyng then an uncouth desarte and unfrequented rocke, and unaccessible both in regard of the steepness of the rocke and of the deseartness of the wilderness. There beyng so thicke of wood that a man havynge once entered thereinto coulde hardly behoulde or see skye or firmament; ffrom Priestholme to Penmen Mawr did Seiriol cause a pavement to bee made wheruppon hee might walke drye ffrom his church att Priestholme to his chappell att Penmen Mawr, the vale beyng very lowe ground, and wette, which pavement may all this day bee discerned from Penmen Mawr to Priestholme when the sea is cleare, if a man lyste to goe in a boat to see

ytt. Sythence this greate and lamentable inundacōn, the way and passage beyinge stopped in this straight in regard the sea was come in, and did beate uppon the rockes at Penmen Mawr; his holy man Seiriol, lieke a good hermite, did cause a way to bee beaten and cutt through the mayne rocke, which is the onely passage that is to passe that straight. This way leadeth from Dwygyfylchi to Llanvair Vechan, and is the kinge's highway from Conwey to Bewmaris, Bangor, and Caernarvon, and the onely passage that the kinge's poste hath to ryde to and from Ireland. This rocke is a myle and a hault in hight, and very perpendicular, especially beneath this way, the way begynninge at the sea shore within the p'ishe of Dwygyfylchi is cutt through the syd of a rocke, still ascendynge untill you come to a cricke uppon the rocke called Clippyn Seiriol, and thence is cutt directly forwards throughe the syde of a steepe hard rocke, neither descendynge nor ascendynge untill you come to Seiriols chappell beyng aboute a quarter of a myle from Clippyn Seiriol, and all that way is 200 yardes above the sea, over which yf either man or beaste shoulde fall, both sea and rocke, rocke and sea woulde strive and contend whether of both shoulde doe him the greatest mischief; and from the chappell aforesaid forward the way is cutt throughe the syde of a gravelly rocky hill, still descendynge untill you come agayne to the sea shore within the p'ishe of Llanfair. This way in leangth is about a mile and somewhat better, and in breadth two yardes, but in some places scarce a yarde and a quarter or a yarde, and this way is ever sythence kepte and repayred by a heremite who hath nothing ffor his labour, and service therein, but the charity of well disposed people and passengers, and a gatherynge once ev'ry yeere in the p'ishes and towne churches adjoynge, and the benevolence of the justices of peace, and such as be ympanelled of the graund inquest in every sessions within the three shires of North Wales. And ffor all this the way woulde sone p'isse (were ytt not

for the fyrmenes of the rocke) by reason of greate stones and rubbell that often fall from the hill (beynge dissolved upon the thawinge of ev'ry greate snowe and froste) and sometymes either choake and fill upp the passage or ells breake downe greate gappes in the way which are repayred by the heremite with the healpe of the inhabitants of the p'issches adjoyninge and newe foundac'ons wrought in such gappes upon poles and thornes.

In this greate washe uppon a lowe grounde ebbe in every March and June, when it ebbes ffurthest, are to be scene the rootes of greate oake and ashe att the ffurthest ebbe, where at other tymes in the yeere it doth not ebbe at all, but only upon springe tydes in March and August ['June' has been obliterated in the MS., and 'August' written above it.] This I speake as an eye witness havynge seene the rootes my sealf, and taken them upp, soe that it shoulde seeme that this vale before the inundacōn was a woodland countrey.

On the toppe of Penmaen Mawr standes a high, strong, rocky hill, called Braich y Dinas; whereuppon is to bee seene the ruynous walles of a stronge and invincible ffortificacōn, compassed with a treble walle; and within every walle there are to be seene the ffoundacōn of at leaste a hundred toures all round, and of æquall bigness in breadth, some sixe yardes ev'y way within the walles. The walles of this same Dinas weare in most places two yardes thicke, and in some places aboute three yardes thicke. This castle, when ytt stood, was impregnable, and noe way to offer any assaulte unto ytt; the hill beynge high, rocky, and ppendicular, and the walles very stronge. The way or entrance unto ytt is ascendynge, with many turnynges, sometymes one way, sometymes an other way; soe that a hundred men might defend themselves in this castle agaynst a whole legion that should assaile them. And yet it should seeme that there weare lodgynges within these walles

¹ 6s. 8d. paid by the king towards the repairs for this way, per Receiver General.

for twenty thousand men in the highest toppe of the rocke. Within the innermost walle of this Dinas there is a ffyne, delicate well wherein there is plentye of sweate, wholesome springe water att all tymes, and in the driest summer; which is a wonderfull guyfte of God, that, for the use of man, water shoulde springe upp in the very uppermost toppe of so highe and so hard a rocke, beyng at leaste a myle and a haulf, or a myle and a quarter, in hight from the ffoote of Penmen Mawr. By tradition we doe receive ytt from our forefathers, that this was the ultimum refugium, the strongest, surest, and saffest refuge and place of defence that the auncient Brittaines hadd in all Snowdon to defend themsealves from the incursions and inrodes of there enemyes; for the lieke place, so stronge, so impregnable, so deffensive, is not to bee ffound in all Snowden. And besydes, the greatenes and lardgenes of the worke sheweth that ytt was a princelye and royall ffortificacōn strengthened both by nature and workmanshippe, seated in the toppe of one of the highest mountaynes in Snowdon, neare the sea, and in the myddest of the best and ffertilest soyle in all Caernarvonshire. The mountaynes adjoining to this place is ffyne, delicate, dry pasture, and hath been aunciently enclosed and inhabited, as app'eth by the ffoundacōns of stone wales which are every where to bee discerned, and by ridges which are in very many places so apparent as yf ytt had beene plowed within these sixe yeeres. But nowe ytt lyeth waste, and is occupied in common by the inhabitants of the p'ishes adjoyninge, whereuppon they have pasture ffor all maner of beastes *sans* numbers, and have greate store of very good turffe and gorse ffor there ffyringe.

About a myle from this ffortification standeth the rarest monument that is to bee ffound in all Snowden, called Y Meini Hirion: ytt standes within the p'ishe of Dwygyfylchi, above Twdduglasse, uppon the playne mountayne. This monum^{te} standes round as a circle, compassed about with a stone walle; and within the walle, close under the walle, are longe greate stones

round about the circle, standynge uppon there endes in the grounde, that a man would wonder where in these partes such stones weare to be found, and howe they weare soe sett uppon there endes in the ground. There are of these stones now standynge in this circle, as I take it, twelve; whereof some of them are ii yards and three quarters, some two yardes, some a yarde and three quarters above ground, besydes what is within the ground. The circle within these large stones, which wee call Meini Hirion is every way in breadth some sixe and twenty yardes; this standes uppon the playne mountayne as soon as you come to the height, and hath much playne even ground about ytt. Ytt shoulde seeme that this was a place whereunto the auncient Bryttaynes came from the Dinas aforesayd to encampe themsealves and trayne there souldiers: ytt stands in a plane fitte ffor justes and tournamentes and this circle thus rounded with these longe stones might bee the place where the kinge's tente was pitched, and neer to this circle there are three pretty big stones uppon their endes standynge triangle-wiese, lieke a tribbet (tripod?), whereuppon as they say was sett a great cauldron to boyle meale in, and surely these three stones doe look as if they had beene longe in a great ffyre.

Some two or three flightes shoots from this place are diverse greate heapes of small stones, which we call carneddi. And in this place there was a greate battayle ffought between the Romaines and the Brittaines, where the Romans weare overthrowne and a greate slaughter of both sydes. And such as were slayne weare buried in heapes one uppon another, and these stones caste uppon them least the wild bores and swyne shoulde digge upp there bodies, and withall ffor a memorial unto future ages that the bodies of men lay there buried. And aboute these greate heapes of stones there are divers graves with stones laid uppon them uppon there endes aboute them, and one or two stones uppon the sayd graves where, as they say, the pryme

men that weare there slayne weare buried: ytt is greate pittie that our Brittishe histories are so ymbelished that we have no certainty ffor these thinges, but must only rely uppon tradition.

Near unto this place there is a fyne delicate hill called Moelvre, round by nature, and mounted very highe, and in the toppe very playne and pleasant, uppon this hill there is a circle marked whereuppon stood three stones, aboute a yard and a quarter above grounde, the one redd as blood, the other white, and the third a little bluer than the white stone, standynge in triangle wiese. What shoulde bee the reason of placynge such three stones in such a place uppon soe highe, and so pleasant a mounte, and to place these stones of such colloures, I cannot express otherwise than wee have yt by tradition. The tradition is this that God almighty hath wrought in this place a miracle ffor increasyng of our ffayth. And that was thus:— Three women, aboute such tyme as Christianity began to creepe into amongst us uppon a Sabath day in the mornynge went to the toppe of this hill to wynowe there corne, and havynge spread there wynowyng sheete uppon the grounde, and begunn there worke, some of there neighbours came unto them, and did rep'hend them ffor violatyng and breakynge the Lorde's commandment by workynge uppon the Sabath day. These ffaithless women regardynge there p'ffit more than the obsearvyng of God's commandem^e made slight of their neighbours' admonition, and healde on in there worke, whereuppon ytt pleased God instantly to transforme them into three pillows of stones, and to fframe these stones of the same collour as the womens clothes weare, one read, thother white, and the third bluishe, and to transforme there winowyng sheele and corne into earth, and soe to leave them there an example unto others. This is a tradition wee have and beleeved by the oulde people in that neighborhood, and howsoever whether it was soe or noe the tradition is wholesome, and will deter others ffrom workynge uppon

the Sabooth day. These stones beyng worth the seyinge as they weare there placed have been digged uppe by some idle headed youths within this six yeares and weare rouled downe the hill, and doe nowe lye together at the ffoote of the hill.

As ffor Tiganwy, or Gannocke Castle, ytt was from the begynninge the chiefe seate of the kynges of North Wales, and not originally founded by any of the earles of Chester; ffor Hugh Lupus was by Will'm Conqueror created Earle of Chester and sworde-bearer of England, with these wordes, vidzt.: "*Habendum et tenendum dictum comitatum Cæstriæ sibi et hæredibus suis ita libere ad gladium sicut ipse rex totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam*"; but hadd not Tygangle and Rhyvoniog untill aboute anno 1092, by the graunte of Will'm Ruffus, unto whome hee did homage for the same. And anno 1096 we read that Hugh Goch earl of Arundel and Salopsbury, and Hugh Lupus also surnamed Gras, that is the ffatte earl of Chester, and a number of nobles more, did gather a huge army and entred into North Wales agaynst Gryffyth ap Conan and Cadogan ap Bleddyn, who weare fayne to betake themsealves into the hills and mounteygues for their deffence, because they weare not able to encounter the earles. And then the earles came over against the Ile of Isle of Moñ or Anglesey, where they did buyld the castle of Aberlhyenan. The earles made this onroade into North Wales by the p'curem^t (procurement) of Owen ap Edwyn, who was the prince's chieffe counsellor, and his father-in-lawe, whose daughter Gruffyth hadd marriedd, havynge hymsealf married the daughter of Cynwyn, vidzt, Everyth, aunte to Cadogan, who openly went with all his power unto them, and did lead them into the Isle of Anglesey, which thinge, when Gruffyth and Cadogan p'ceaved (perceived), they sayled over into Ireland mistrustyng the treason of there owne people. Then the earles spoyled the Ile and slew all that they ffound there. And Hugh earle of Salop was there stroke with an arrow in the face by Magnus

the sonne of Harold, and thereof died; and soe, suddenly, either party forsoke the Ile, and left Owen ap Edwyn prince in the land, who had allured them thither.

We read also, that the said Hugh Lupus, also sur-named Gras earle of Chester, anno 1113, did incense king Henry the Ffyrst to invade North Wales, who came himsealf in p'son to ——— (?) but then there was a peace politickly concluded between the kinge and Gruffyth ap Conan and Owen ap Cadogan, by the subtlety of Mereddydd ap Bleddyn and the said earle of Chester.

In anno 1248, Randal earle of Chester, gathered a greate power of his friendes and hyred souldiers from all p'tes of England, unto whom Madog ap Mereddydd prince of Powis, disdayninge to houlde his landes of Owen Gwynedd, joyned all his power. And they both together entered prince Owen's landes, who, like a worthy prince, not sufferynge the spoyle of his subjects, mett them at Caunsyllt, and bouldly bad them battell, in which battell Madog ap Mereddydd and the earle of Chester were fayne to trust to their heeles, whome the North Wales men did soe pursue that ffew escaped.

We read that anno 1210, in kinge John's time, the earle of Chester leadd an army into Rhos by the kinge's appoyntment, and there did reediffye the castle of Tyganwy which prince Llewellyn ap Yerwerth had before destroyed. And thereupon the prince entered the earle's landes and destroyed a great parte thereof, and rettourned home with great bootye.

Anno 1211. Kinge John came to Tiganwy and ffortified the castle, but was fayne to withdraw his fforces from want of victualls.

Anno 1213. Prince Llewellyn layd siege to the castell of Tiganwy and Ruthlan and wonn them both, soe that hee leafte the king neither houlde nor castell within his land.

Anno 1260, Prince Llewellyn ap Gruffyth raised the castell of Tiganwy and Diserth, and destroyed the

earldom of Chester, sythence w^h tyme Tyganwy was never reedified.

This I have expressed to make it app^r that Tyganwy, als Cannoche Castell, was an ancient Brittishe ffortification in the tyme of the kinges of Brittain; for Maelgwn lyved there, and lyeth buried at Priestholme, where hee dyed, havynge taken uppon him the habit of a monk, and all the kinges after Maelgwn until Cad . . . lyved there, and after ytt continued to bee the seate of the kinges of North Wales untill . . . the Conquest. That the kinges of England began to invade North Wales, and sometymes to gain that and other castells in Rhos, Rhyvoniog, and Tygangle. Once you may see it was reediffyed in kinge John's tyme to the kinge's use by the earle of Chester, but the castle was not originally built by any one of the earles of Chester.

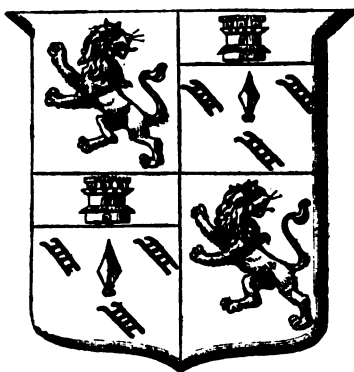
Whereas you say that Bangor Vaur was destroyed by Owen Glyn Dwr in revenge of Bu^{pp} Madog's treason. True ytt is that the Cathedral church and Bangor house, together with the relickes of Bangor fyred by Glyndwr, and the church and house were repayred by Bu^{pp} Scevington in his time; but Bangor Vawr was formerly, in anno 1212, burned by kinge John, and Bu^{pp} Robert taken prisoner, who was afterwards ransomed for 200 hawkes.

ON SOME OLD FAMILIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LAMPETER, CARDIGANSHIRE.

No. IV.

(Concluded from VOL. VII, p. 28.)

PETERWELL.—THE LLOYDS.



Arms of Sir Herbert Lloyd, Bart.

THE reader will have observed that one of the daughters of Daniel Evans married Walter Lloyd of Llanfair Clydogau. By this union the lineage of Cadifor ap Dinawal was joined to the race of Gwaithfoed, and a new family sprang at Peterwell, which bade fair at one time to become one of the most powerful and influential houses in South Wales.

But before we proceed with Peterwell, in order to make our paper as complete as possible, we shall give the genealogy of the Lloyds of Llanfair Clydogau, gathered from Dwnn and the MS. in our custody, to which we have referred before (p. 169).

We must not pass by the name of Sir Walter Lloyd without citing the character given him by the writer in the *Cambrian Register*, whom we have already quoted more than once. It is the brightest in the whole group: "Sir Walter Lloyd, a gentleman and a scholar, elegant in his tongue and pen, nobly just in his deportment, naturally fit to manage the affayres of his country, which he did before these times with much honor and integrity. He served knight for his country in the Parlia-

GRIFFITH adog, Lord of Cydewen.

Cadifor
 descen

Ddu, Knt. of the Sepulchre.

wel ap Einion of Brecknock.

o Griffith ap Cadwgan Fychan of Cydwelli.

ap Howel Fychan of Pantstreimon.

bel, d. to Ieuan, whose descendants are not
 andir. recorded further than the fourth
 generation.

o Rhydderch of Buallt, from Elystan; as others,
 id ap Meredith ap Ieuan Lloyd.

in o wirion kwta," *aliter* "David Geffyl Cwtta,"
 p Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas.

2, Griffith

Lloyd = Gwenllian, d. and coheir of John Gwyn ap
 Rhys ap Dd. Thomas of Blaentren, pa.
 Llanybyther, co. Caermarthen, descended
 from Tewdwr.

John,

dman of Strata Florida, Sheriff of Cardiganshire,
 1581.

2, Rice

ace, Knt., of Newton. 1609.

of Glanfred.

1, Thomas
 of Cardigan

Walter Lloyd of Olmarch, married d. to
 Corbet, of Ynysymaengwyn, near Towyn.

Elizabeth, d
 Cothi a
 for Cart

d, brother of the above Jonathan.

ter of Daniel Evans, of Peterwell.

d by Dwnn, are: 1 3 llew blaidd y dwynn kynta,
 thien, 3 Tewdwr, 4 y blaidd val y Dwms.

ment; but quitted that service on the Earl of Strafford's death; was Commissioner of Array; paid a deep composition in Goldsmiths' Hall; contents himself within the walls of his house." Sir Walter was disabled, Feb. 5, 1643, for deserting the service of the House, being in the King's quarters, and adhering to that party. A new writ was issued June 5th, and Sir Richard Pryse, of Gogerddan, Bart., was returned.¹

But to return to Peterwell. Walter Lloyd, after his marriage with Elizabeth Evans (which took place, probably, about the year 1713), made his home at Peterwell. Peterwell and Llechwedd Deri estate had fallen to Mrs. Lloyd's share as co-heiress. He had been brought up a lawyer; and became, we know not exactly at what time, Attorney-General for the counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan. He was member of Parliament for the county of Cardigan from 1734 to 1741. It appears, from Mr. Hughes's *Parliamentary Representation of Cardiganshire*, that he was reelected to serve in the second parliament of George II, which was summoned in the year 1741; but there was some flaw in the election, and Thomas Powell of Nanteos took his place. Walter Lloyd had nine children: Mary, born in 1714, died in 1720; Daniel, died young, 1715; Walter, died young, 1717; John, born probably in 1818,²—of whom more hereafter; Anne, wife of Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyd, of Millfield, Bart., born 1719, died 1746 (vide pp. 276, 277); Herbert, born 1720,—of whom presently; Elizabeth, wife of John Adams of Whitland, co. Caermarthen, born 1721; Alice, wife of Jeremiah Lloyd of Mabws,³ born 1724 (vide p. 276); Thomas, died young, 1725.⁴

Walter Lloyd died in 1744 $\frac{1}{2}$, and was buried at Lampeter on the 22 of February in that year. His wife, Elizabeth Lloyd, had died in 1743.

Walter Lloyd was succeeded in his estate, and the office of Attorney General for the three counties, by his eldest surviving son, John Lloyd, who also was member of Parliament for the county of Cardigan from 1747 to his death, in 1755. John Lloyd⁵ married, in the year 1750, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir

¹ Hughes's *Parliamentary Representation of Cardiganshire*.

² His baptism is not in the Lampeter parish register.

³ Jeremiah Lloyd resided for some time at Millfield (vide p. 276), and was for a long period steward of the manor of Lampeter. We also notice the name of Francis Dyer, of Aberglasney, as steward here.

⁴ His baptism does not appear in the register. He may have been two or three years of age when he died.

⁵ In a biographical sketch of Col. Johnes, of Hafod, which may be seen in the *Annual Biography and Obituary* for 1817, we meet with the following: "According to a memorandum furnished by a contemporary, he (Col.

Isaac Le Hoop, and received some £80,000 as a marriage portion from his wife.¹ In the same year he became possessed of the Millfield estate by the will of his brother-in-law, Sir Lucius Christianus Lloyd. He did not live long to enjoy the wealth which had fallen to his lot. He died of a nervous disorder in 1755, without issue, and was buried at Lampeter on the 29th of June in that year. His widow remarried one George Montgomery, but left no issue. A portion of her fortune had been laid out in mortgages on farms in the neighbourhood of Lampeter. These she bequeathed to a sister's daughter, who married Sir Edward Williams of Llangoed Castle, co. Brecknock. A daughter of Sir Edward married Mr. Thos. Wood of Littleton, co. Middlesex. This family is now represented by General Wood.

I have heard it said that George II intended to elevate John Lloyd to the peerage, with the title of Lord Brynhywel (from the name of the old residence of the Lloyds of Lampeter), had the latter lived a little longer. It is also said that his wife was a maid of honour in his Majesty's court.²

As John Lloyd³ died without issue, his brother Herbert succeeded to his estates, Llechwedd Deri, Peterwell, and Millfield. His father had given him Foelallt, where, I believe, he resided

Johnes' father) was accustomed to entertain the Right Hon. Richard Rigby, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, together with Mr. Lloyd of Peterwell, for weeks together, at his hospitable seat of Llanfair, in Cardiganshire. They played, during the evening, for large sums, and Messrs. Fox and Rigby usually proved fortunate: 'thus the *country gentlemen* were cut up.' However, both Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Johnes afterwards married heiresses, and recovered." It is appended in a note, that Miss Knight (Mr. Johnes' wife) brought with her a fortune of £70,000; and that by the blunder of a "Welsh attorney," who did not know the difference between "heirs male and issue male," the estate of Hafod, formerly appertaining to the Herberts, devolved on the Johneses instead of the Lloyds. We may add that, had there been no wills and cutting off of entails, the Lloyds of Peterwell would have been heirs of the Llanfair estate. The mansion of Llanfair was suffered to fall into decay when the family became possessed of Hafod. Perhaps the proximity of the mines had something to do with its desertion.

¹ The communion plate of Lampeter church was the gift of this lady. The cup bears the date of 1751. The vessels consist of chalice, cup, and paten, of pure silver and elegant workmanship.

² Perhaps the late Mr. Thos. Hugh Jones, of Neuadd Fawr, near Lampeter, had more to say about Peterwell than any man of his time. Mr. Jones was intimately acquainted with the genealogies of the families of this county. Mr. Jones' father, who was Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1764, and died in 1813, at the age of ninety-one, was a contemporary and friend of John and Sir Herbert Lloyd.

³ The good burghers of Cardigan may be interested to learn that Mr. John Lloyd contributed £100 towards recasting their church bells in 1745.

for some time. Herbert Lloyd married, first, a Miss Bragge, an English lady; who died in the year 1743, and was buried at Lampeter on the 30th of March in that year. An infant daughter had preceded her to the grave a few days before. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of William Powell, of Nanteos, and widow of Richard Stedman of Strata Florida. Herbert Lloyd was created a baronet by George III, on the 26th of January, 1763. Meyrick (*History of Cardiganshire*) says that this honour was conferred upon him on presenting a congratulatory address from the borough of Cardigan on his Majesty's accession to the throne. If this be true, the good burghers of Cardigan must have been late in sending their congratulations. Meyrick cites some rhymes written on the "occasion" by one of the Lloyds of Alltyrodin, a clergyman; who was afterwards, at the recommendation of Sir Herbert, collated by the Bishop of St. David's to the living of Llanarth. The lines are as follows:

"A would-be member brought of late,
From borough little known,
In an address of early date,
His incense to the throne.

"Soon tidings came where Tivy flows
Through tyrant-harassed land,
That Lloyd to envied honours rose,
And kissed the royal hand.

"O! had our gracious sovereign's touch
But cured him of his evil,
I'd own St. George ne'er boasted such
A triumph o'er the devil."

Sir Herbert Lloyd represented the Cardiganshire boroughs in Parliament from 1761 to 1768.¹ He died in London on the 19th of August 1769, and was buried at Lampeter on the 3rd of September. Some of the old inhabitants remembered his funeral. He was buried at night with great pomp. The road from the mansion to the parish church was lighted with torches.

Sir Herbert Lloyd's name is a "household word" in the neighbourhood of Lampeter. All that one hears of him is not unmixed praise. But we are glad to find that he is not without his good word. The bard of Castell Hywel, some of whose stanzas we have already cited, thus speaks of him and his brother John:

¹ He was more than a "would-be" member, therefore, when he was made a baronet. Perhaps the rhymers only meant by the "envied honours," that he had appeared at court, and kissed hands.

"Dau farchog enwog anwyd—o honi,
 Rhai hynod dderchafwyd;
 Dau hylew, dau lew, dau Lwyd,
 Gwrola' gwyr a welwyd."

Of Sir Herbert himself he says :

"Y gorau'i ddoniau o ddynion—aned,
 A'r mwyns' o gyfeillion;
 Tarrig lew o'it i'r glewion,
 Ond i'r gwâr mor wâr a'r o'n."

The story of *Cae Shôn Philip*, like "melldith Maesyfelin," is in every mouth. There is a tradition that Sir Herbert obtained a field, known by the above name, close to the Peterwell demesne, the property of a poor man, by violence and wrong. It is said that the owner, *Shôn Philip*, was obstinately unwilling to sell it to him; and that Sir Herbert one night caused his servants to throw a black ram of his flock down through Shon's chimney; and upon finding it there next morning, after a pretended search of the neighbourhood, to accuse him of stealing it. The sequel is obvious. *Shôn* must suffer for felony, or purchase the pardon of his powerful neighbour on his own terms; which would be, of course, the possession of the coveted field. It is possible that, in this instance, the sin of one of his ancestors (the Evanses) is unjustly laid at the door of Sir Herbert Lloyd; although we must confess that there is another story, not unlike the above, told of him. It is remarkable that in the pedigree of the Evanses there occurs the name *Iwan Philip*,—*Shôn Philip*, in fact; and I think it may be possible that this portion of land, called after him *Cae Shôn Philip*, and so known to this day, may have been the subject of envy, and perhaps litigation between some members of the family; and that the dispute was terminated by a *black ram*. Dd. Evans, of Llechwedd Deri, when he first purchased Peterwell, on being asked why he had set his heart on such a small place, replied that, if a horse could get a place to lie down, he would soon find room to stretch himself. These traditions are given as they are current in the locality. The reader's memory will, perhaps, supply him with similar stories. With regard to the amount of truth contained in them, he will exercise his judgment.

Sir Herbert Lloyd was a man of great stature, and on occasions he ruled his dependents and tenants with a rod of iron. His word was quite law in these parts; and the process of sending a man to Cardigan gaol was an exceedingly simple one in his day. He lived at Peterwell in true baronial state. When he passed to and from London, his tenants, all the way from Lampeter to Llandovery, brought relays of horses and

oxen to help his retinue forward. But, notwithstanding his great territorial possessions, he got into debt and difficulties, and was obliged to raise a mortgage on his estates. He inherited a large portion of the impetuosity of Thomas Evans, the Cromwellite hero of Peterwell. In his dealings with his creditors, his whip was often brought into requisition; and woe to the bailiff that was entrusted to carry a writ to Peterwell, for the poor fellow might have to swallow it at once, on the spot, without any ado!

Sir Herbert Lloyd's married life, with his second wife, was not a happy one. Lady Lloyd was older than Sir Herbert; and, from all accounts, there was not much affection between them. She resided principally at Foelallt, in the parish of Llanddewi Brefi. She is mentioned by Edward Richard, of Ystradmeurig, in his *Pastorals* :

"Daw Anna i dywynnu cyn nemmawr cân imi
Di weli blwy Dewi'n blodeuo."

Lady Lloyd survived her husband. She was buried in the church of Strata Florida, where there is a monument to her memory with the following inscription :

This humble stone
Was placed here in memory of Dame Anne Lloyd, daughter of
William Powell, late of Nanteos, Esq., and Averina his wife.
She was first married to Richard Stedman of
Strata Florida, Esq., by whom she had two daughters, who
Died young, and with their father buried in this chapel.
She was afterwards relict of Sir Herbert Lloyd, of Peterwell, Bart.
She departed this life the second day of August 1778,
In the 76th year of her age,
And was interred near this place in well founded hopes
Of a joyfull resurrection.
Her virtues were eminent : her piety was without
Ostentation, hypocrisy, or superstition.
Her humanity and benevolence were general and conspicuous, and
Her charity appears by the heartfelt lamentations
Of the poor and needy.
To the above truths may be added that her tenderness and warm
Affection for her relations will ever be remembered
With gratitude and reverence.
I! Decus. I! Nostrum.

At the death of Lady Lloyd, the estate of Strata Florida, by the will of her first husband, fell into the possession of the Powells of Nanteos.

Sir Herbert Lloyd died without issue. By his death the Lloyds of Llanfair and Peterwell, in the male line, became extinct. He bequeathed his estates, burdened with a heavy mortgage, to John Adams of Whitland, co. Caermarthen, the

son of his sister Elizabeth. Mr. Adams was member of Parliament for the borough of Caermarthen from 1774 to 1780. It is said that he gave £4,000 towards building the Town Hall in that borough. He served Sheriff for Caermarthenshire in 1774. Mr. Adams resided for some time at Peterwell; but he was obliged to sell the whole of Sir Herbert Lloyd's property.

The Llechwedd Deri estate he sold to Wm. Williams of Pantseiri (Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1751), shortly after he succeeded. This is now part of the Castle Hill property. Peterwell, including Millfield, was sold to Mr. Johnes of Hafod, in conjunction with Mr. Herbert Lloyd of Caermarthen. We have failed to ascertain the date of Mr. Adams' death. He was alive in 1811. One of his sisters married Barrett Bowen Jordan of Neston, co. Pembroke; whose daughter, Frances, married John Hill Harries of Priskilly, co. Pembroke. I believe that some members of this family are now resident in Cardiganshire. After Peterwell passed into the hands of its purchasers, a great part of the house was pulled down, and its costly fittings carried away, or sold, in different directions. Davis of Castell Hywel says:

"Balchder ac uwchder ei gwych-dai—roddwyd
I raddu cabandai;
Cadd main mwynai' tecca'r tai
'll dattod i wneud diottai.

"Glasni, du oerni daw arnoch;—galar
Ac alaeth rêd trwyddoch,
Ac wylo wnewch pan gweloch
Feini'i môr yn gafnau moch."

But the purchase not being completed, Mr. Albany Wallis, an attorney in London, who held the original mortgage, bought the place. He bequeathed the property to his son, Colonel Baily Wallis, who sold Peterwell and its appurtenances to Mr. Hart Davis of Bristol, for many years member of Parliament for Colchester. Colonel Baily Wallis was Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1806.

Mr. Hart Davis improved the property by encouraging a better system of farming, and by planting extensively. He built the Town Hall of Lampeter (1818) and benefited the neighbourhood in various ways. Mr. Davis disposed of the estate to Mr. John Scandrett Harford of Blaise Castle, Bristol, and his brothers; in which family it now remains. The ground upon which St. David's College is built, is the freewill offering of this family to the church in Wales. Mr. Scandrett Harford served the office of Sheriff for Cardiganshire in 1825. Mr. J.

Battersby Harford, his nephew, was Sheriff for the same county in 1855.

Peterwell was at one time a magnificent mansion. A traveller¹ in Wales, in 1801, thus notices the place: "Llanbedr, a small town, containing nothing particularly worthy of observation, except the large old seat of Sir Herbert Lloyd, which is built close to the town, and exhibits a very striking appearance with its four great towers crowned with domes, in the middle of a well-planted enclosure; but it appears to have been long neglected, and now seldom inhabited."

Of the mansion, the bard of Castell Hywel says :

"Troi'r ei chain lydain aelwydau'n erddi,
A gwyrddion weirglodau;
A mynych yr ych o'r iaŷ
Bawr lawr ei gwyh barlyrau."

Of the house, nothing now stands except some broken, crumbling walls; but the avenue leading to it, between rows of elms, still attracts the eye of the passing stranger.

And now this paper is nearly at an end. In conclusion, I would beg to make one or two remarks. A gentleman occupying a high position in this county, some few years ago complained to one of the Commissioners of inquiry into the state of education in Wales, that the people "were less disposed to respect the old families of the county than they used to be." Now it is not for us here to inquire how far this is correct; and, if it is, what may have been the causes at work in bringing it about. But we have always thought that the gentry of South Wales neglect one powerful means of influence with the people,—that is, a colloquial knowledge of the Welsh language. We look upon it as a matter of plain, practical usefulness, that everybody connected by property, or otherwise, with the Principality, should, as far as they are able, acquaint themselves with the language of the people. Again, we are very far from joining in any cry of "Wales for the Welsh." If any Englishman presents himself among us as a candidate for any office or position, for which he possesses the necessary qualifications, let us not brand him as a stranger (*estron*), because he was not born this side of the Severn; but rather let us welcome him, and give him every fair play, and let us be proud that we are a part and parcel of a mighty nation, where there is no dominant race; where there are no Helots, but all equally privileged; and where the best blood of Celt and Saxon and Norman

¹ Evans, who almost repeats word for word the description of a previous tourist,—Skirine, 1798.

runs united in one stream. Our countrymen, English, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch, have fought the battles of their common fatherland side by side. There is no sea which is not stained by their blood; nor battlefield where their bones are not laid, from Agincourt to the sanguinary trenches of Sebastopol,—why, then, should we join in any narrow cry of exclusive patriotism?

And lastly, we see that not only provincial families become extinct, but the dynasties of princes pass away; still we can say,—“Lord, thou hast been our refuge from one generation to another.”

W. EDMUNDS.

Lampeter.

Correspondence.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PENIARTH MSS.

BELONGING TO W. W. E. WYNNE, ESQ., M.P.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—You may consider the enclosed list worth publishing in a forthcoming number of your Journal. It will form a sort of supplemental list to the Hengwrt MSS. now deposited here. I wish, however, there was a perfect catalogue of those manuscripts. There are many catalogues, such as they are (three printed). One is in the autograph of the well-known Edw. Lhuyd, of the Ashmolean Museum; and two are by Mr. Aneurin Owen. Neither of them, however, contains, upon a rough guess, more than four-fifths of the manuscripts,—some much less. In Mr. Owen's catalogue, what information do we derive from such items as the following?

- “253. Cywyddau, by various authors.
- “254. Cywyddau, by different authors.
- “258. Poetry. 8vo.; an inch thick.
- “259. Poetry. 8vo.; an inch thick.”

Many of the manuscripts were tied up in bundles; and it would seem that, in some instances, Mr. Aneurin Owen has numbered and catalogued merely the upper MS. in the bundle, and not separately each

within it. He states in a note, that probably some of the MSS. were amongst the printed books at Hengwrt; and, if so, they did not fall under his notice. I hope some day to see a perfect catalogue made of this valuable collection. I think it must amount, altogether, to about four hundred and fifty or five hundred MSS.; but they are not yet arranged.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, April 8, 1861.

1. A folio vol. of Original Letters of Mr. Edw. Lhuyd, of the Ashmolean Museum, etc., etc.; and several loose letters by the same writer, with other letters and papers in the same volume.
2. A folio vol. of Pedigrees of the Nobility, written in Queen Elizabeth's reign.
3. A folio vol. of Pedigrees, principally of S. Wales. Nearly the whole of this vol. is a transcript, of about the middle of the 17th century, from portions of the MSS. of George Owen, of Kemes, Esq., as compiled by him from Lewis Dwnn's Visitations.
4. A folio vol. of Welsh Pedigrees, in the autograph of one of the Randle Holmes, Heralds of Chester; written probably about the time of Charles II.
5. A folio vol., bound in russia leather, entitled "Collections for a Genealogy of the Family of Peniarth, in Merionethshire."
6. A quarto vol., bound in blue velvet, containing matter, principally genealogical, in the autograph of the celebrated Robt. Vaughan, of Hengwrt.
7. A folio vol., consisting of copies of old Wills and Pedigrees, or portions of ditto; collected from Deeds, etc., etc.
8. A quarto vol., containing a copy of Davies' (of Llansilin) "Display of Heraldry," and some Pedigrees.
9. A quarto vol., bound in red morocco, consisting of the Pedigree of the Wynnes and Joneses of Wern; written by the Rev. Rd. Thomas, of Penmorvâ in Carnarvonshire; in whose autograph there are two vols. of Welsh Pedigrees in the Heralds' College.
10. A quarto vol., entitled "A short Account of the Rebellion in North and South Wales, in Oliver Cromwell's time." This is supposed to be a copy of a MS. formerly in the Mostyn library, but now missing. It is the same, and in the same hand, as one saved, and but little injured, from the fire at Wynnstay.

11. Journal of Sir Kenelm Digby, written by his own hand when he was Admiral in the Narrow Seas. Folio.
12. A folio Welsh Dictionary, written by a Dr. Williams about the time of Charles I.
13. Six Letters from Dr. Corbet and Ld. Pembroke, and Verses by the latter.
14. A Manuscript Play of Fletcher, entitled "Demetrius and Enanthe." Written, in 1625, by Ralph Crane. 4to. Given to the late W. Ormsby Gore, Esq., M.P.
15. A short "Discourse" of the Pedigrees of the Families of Percy and Stanley. Supposed to be in the autograph of Ben Jonson. 4to.
16. A quarto vol. of Letters of the late Rev. Peter Roberts, in his autograph.
17. A Prayer Book printed in 1638, and containing at the end a register of the births, etc., of several of the family of Mostyn; and unfortunately this register was cut out and lost by an ignorant binder.
18. A small 8vo vol., bound in crimson, containing matter principally genealogical.
19. A small 8vo. vol., bound in scarlet, containing the like matter.
20. Dodderidge's Ancient and Modern Estate of the Principality of Wales, etc. Folio. Written about the time of Charles I.
21. Sir Kenelm Digby's Discourse concerning the Vegetation of Plants. Folio.
22. An old List of the Sheriffs of Carnarvonshire.
23. A quarto vol. of South Wales Pedigrees.
24. A case containing a collection of loose papers, principally genealogical.
25. Use of the Globes. 4to.
26. Notes from Llyfr Goch Asaph. 4to.; bound in red morocco. All, or nearly all, in the autograph of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt. There is little doubt that this is one of the MSS. which had been long missing from the Hengwrt Collection.
27. A very ancient MS. on vellum, apparently a collection of Statutes.
28. Select Extracts from the Registers of Keel, etc., by Rev. Mark Noble.
29. Pedigree of the Lloyds and Owens of Peniarth, sent from Morben on the death of Mrs. Margaret Williams, about 1836; in the autograph of the Rev. Richard Thomas above mentioned.

30. A Passional, beautifully illuminated, in its original crimson velvet binding; one of the original Gothic clasps remaining, but lately detached.
31. Pedigree of the Family of Wynne, of Glyn, Wern, and Peniarth, to the present time; containing copies of, and abstracts from, Deeds, etc. Folio.
32. Welsh Grammar, by Edeyrn "the Golden-Tongued"; said to be very valuable. 4to. See Owen's Welsh Grammar, p. 1.
33. The Original Visitation of the three Counties, "uwch Conwy." This had been formerly in the Peniarth Library; and is supposed to have been stolen by an agent. It got into the possession of Mr. Griffith Roberts, a medical man at Dolgelley; and was purchased from him, or his representatives, by the late Lieut.-Colonel Vaughan. It is now restored to its right owner. A large proportion of the pedigrees are certified by the representatives of the families to which the pedigrees relate. This MS. was printed, but very incorrectly, from a copy, under the editorship of Sir Samuel R. Meyrick. See the "Heraldic Visitation of Wales," 2 vols., 4to.; Llandovery, 1846.
34. Feoda debita in Curia Augmentationum. Folio. A MS. of the time of Edward VI.
35. Heaven and Earth, or God and Vertusia; a poem. 4to.
36. Autographs of Lords-Lieuts. and Custodes Rotulorum, and Representatives in Parliament, for the county of Merioneth; the earliest of the reign of Henry VIII. To which is added a collection of miscellaneous autographs; some of great interest and value.
37. Officium B. Mariæ Virginis; beautifully illuminated. 4to.
38. Poetry, by Lydgate; and Wars of Alexander the Great; and the Story of the Three Kings of Cologne; beautifully illuminated, in its old velvet binding. Folio.
39. Copies of Deeds relating to Estates formerly belonging to the Family of Albany, Lords of the Manor of Whittington in the county of Salop. Folio.
40. A Service Book, of the 15th century, with musical notes.
41. "Llyma Dosparth Edeyrn Davod aur," etc., etc.; a transcript in the autograph of Dr. Owen Pugh.
42. Three thin quarto books, unbound; being extracts from various MSS., etc., upon genealogical subjects relating to Wales.
43. A small 8vo. vol. containing extracts relating to Wales, from documents in the Public Record Office in London.

44. Ditto, ditto.
45. Ditto, ditto.
46. Ditto, ditto, half bound, containing extracts from various MSS. relating to Wales.
47. Ditto, ditto, bound in vellum; ditto.
48. A quarto vol. of Collections for the History of Merionethshire, bound in red leather.
49. A Collection of Autograph Letters of King William IV, when Duke of Clarence; of the celebrated Lady Hamilton, etc., etc. Folio; bound in blue morocco.
50. A thin quarto vol. containing the marriages and arms of the Wynne family: the arms in colours.
51. A quarto vol., bound in parchment, containing a Collection of Welsh Poetry, principally elegies, epithalamia, etc., upon members of the Wynne family, or their connexions; many of the poems being transcribed from the works of the more eminent of the Welsh writers.

REMARKABLE ANTIQUITIES NEAR LLANEGRYN, MERIONETHSHIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—On looking over, some time since, one of the more valuable of the Hengwrt manuscripts, No. 104 in that collection, which is a volume in the autograph of the well-known herald and poet, Griffith Hiraethog, written about the year 1560, I came upon the following account of some antiquities which then existed in this parish:—

“Sir Vericonydd, Kwmwd Talybout, tre Beniarth, plwy Llan egryn.

“Yn y dre kou lle gelwid Llwyn y Gardd, yn ymyl Maes y Neuadd, rrwng Moel gwely y sarff a deau or llewin, y mae lle bu adail mawr y brigs etto iw gweled, a ffenestri yn y ddayer, ac ir oedd y llawr wedi pavio o geric ysgwar callestrig ar lun disie yn disgennu tō o glai yn gyntaf, tō o dywod yn nesaf, a thō o galch, ac yn hwnw y cerrig ysgwar wedi gosod.”

It will be seen that the *Welsh* in this description is somewhat obscure, but I am indebted to a friend for such a translation of it as the original will allow of.

“Merionethshire, comot of Talybout, township of Peniarth, parish of Llanegryn.

“In this township, at a place called Llwyn y gardd, near Maes y nenadd, between the hill of Gwely y sarph and the south-west, the spot where stood a large brick edifice is still to be seen. The windows are in the ground, and its floor was paved with square flint

stones in the shape of dice; descending, a layer of clay first, a layer of sand next, and then a layer of mortar, and in that were placed the square stones."

This seems very much to describe Roman remains, but nothing is now known of them. "Llwyn" is now a thick wood; "Maes y neuadd" (the field of the hall) must have been part or the whole of the large fields forming the lawn between this house and the high road; "Gwely Sarph" is well known.

About a week since, upon going entirely through every part of the wood of Llwyn for the purpose of marking trees for thinning, I bore in mind Griffith Hiracthog's account of the antiquities which existed there, but could find no spot in the slightest degree denoting where they were.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Jan. 12th, 1861.

LOW SPRING-TIDES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—You were kind enough to insert in the Journal of our society an account I sent you of a wall of solid masonry seen at a very low spring just under Nant Prestatyn, the residence of J. Dixon, Esq. I beg leave to suggest that our members living on the coast should notice low spring-tides. I have an idea that very valuable archaeological remains may be discovered, the sea having encroached much in Wales on what was once land, with buildings upon it. The "Sarn Badric," for instance, is much more visible at very low tides than at other times. The old stone in Abergele churchyard, with an inscription stating that the remains of a man are interred in the churchyard of St. Michael (Abergele), whose dwelling-place or house was three miles to the north, is curious at all events. This three miles to the north would be about *two miles* beyond the present low-water mark at ordinary tides.

Old inhabitants have told me that they have seen hearth stones of cottage floors on the sea side of the present great embankment, where they are now covered with sand and shingle, showing the constant encroachment of the sea on this coast.

Yours truly,

R. H. JACKSON.

BRUT Y TYWYSOGION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—When I received my appointment from the Master of the Rolls, I was requested to bring out a complete edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriæ*, portions of which only (i. e. as far

as 1066) had already been printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and I proceeded at once to examine and collate the necessary MSS. Being anxious to adhere as closely as possible to the plan laid down in the *Monumenta*, I did not even venture to make the slight alterations, which I considered would be improvements, in the printed portions, without first consulting the proper authorities on the subject. The answer I received from the Master of the Rolls, was to the effect that in these matters I was to use my editorial discretion; which, therefore, I did.

The cause of the name of Mr. Duffus Hardy not having been mentioned in my preface, arose from the intention that the *Brut* and *Annales* should form only one volume. I was preparing an introduction to serve for both, when, owing to the size of the former becoming larger than was previously expected, I was advised to bring them out separately; and whilst I was, consequently, rearranging my preliminary matters, I inadvertently omitted to refer to the *Monumenta Historica* in my preface to the *Brut*, though *I have done so* in the introduction to the *Annales*; *I also stated there* that my work was to be considered simply as the completion of what was begun in the *Monumenta*. My having done so in one case, is surely proof sufficient that I did not intend to suppress or conceal the fact in the other.

As to the late Mr. Aneurin Owen, I was not to take it for granted that he was the editor of those portions of the *Brut* and *Annales* which were printed in the *Monumenta Historica*, as his name *does not occur* in connexion with them as such. Mr. Duffus Hardy kindly lent me some letters, loose notes, and prefatory fragments of Mr. Aneurin Owen, which he thought might be of use to me in compiling the introduction. But his manner of doing so left me under the impression that he did not intend that I should make express mention of them, more particularly (as I naturally supposed) because they were private correspondences, and because some of the materials had already been worked into the preface of the *Monumenta* *without* any reference to the name of the writers. It was, therefore, out of consideration for what I conceived would be the private wish of Mr. Duffus Hardy that I abstained from alluding to these papers; nor should I do so now, did I not infer from their partial production in your review that I may have been mistaken as to the wish of Mr. Duffus Hardy. There was nothing in the papers, however, but what I was already acquainted with, though I made no hesitation in adopting the language of the writer as far as it seemed to agree with my own views. Other facts and inferences, also, which occurred to me, but which were not in these fragments, I introduced, so as to make the preface as complete as possible. With regard to the Llanover MSS., I beg to say, that they *were not* in the handwriting of Mr. Aneurin Owen; and that though they were of considerable assistance to me, I did not implicitly follow them where I was not perfectly satisfied of their correctness. If I had refused to avail myself of them, I should indeed have become liable to the charge of indifference or overweening self-dependence.

Having made this explanation, allow me to say that it is not my intention to reply to any further attacks.

Yours, etc.,

J. WILLIAM AB ITHEL.

P.S.—The following is the statement made in the *Preface of the Annales Cambriae*:—"A portion of the *Annales Cambriae*, i. e. down to A.D. 1066, was printed some years ago in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, under the able editorship of the late Henry Petrie, esq., F.S.A., Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. The plan adopted by the promoters of that great work assigned the Norman Conquest as the historical limit of the first volume; but as only one volume was ever published, the consequence was that the chronicle in question, as well as several others, remained imperfect. When, however, the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury, in 1857, gave their sanction to the publication of materials for the history of this country from the invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, it was thought desirable that a complete edition of the *Annales* should be issued, and appear in the series which is now in course of coming out. The result is the present volume, which, though of small dimensions, is, nevertheless, highly interesting, and of considerable value, as being, perhaps, the oldest chronicle of Welsh affairs that we possess. . . . We did not consider it advisable to deviate from it, or to alter in any respect the groundwork laid down in the '*Monumenta Historica*'; the undertaking, therefore, is to be regarded simply as the completion of what was begun there." In a note, referring to the *Monumenta*, it is added,— "Mr. Petrie died before the work was finished, and after his death it was completed, and the prefatory matter added by Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq. And at the end there is this note:—"In drawing up the preface, the Editor begs to acknowledge the great help he has derived from that in the '*Monumenta Historica Britannica*', of which he has largely availed himself."

ANCIENT WELLS IN OXFORDSHIRE, BEDFORDSHIRE AND CORNWALL,

SUPPOSED TO BE ROMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The *Times* of the 9th of October, 1860, contains a letter from Mr. James Wyatt, of Bedford, describing an ancient well, discovered on the north side of the deep cutting of the chalk at Sewell, when the branch line was made from Dunstable to the London and North Western Railway. Its situation was "one of the highest and driest spots on the downs. At the depth of about twenty feet, cut in the side of the shaft, foot-holes, or 'scotches' appear, and thence con-

tinue downwards at regular distances." It was examined in November last to the depth of one hundred and sixteen feet from the surface, and its contents, after a few bushels of the chalk *debris* were thrown out, consisted of "bones of small animals and birds, and lower down, some fragments of burnt wood. Below these were pieces of unbaked pottery of a very coarse kind, then human bones, and a large quantity of the same kind of pottery. Bones and teeth of various animals were thrown up continually, and pieces of pottery occasionally; then a Roman tile and a piece of sandstone squared like it, and several stones shewing the action of fire. At the depth of sixty-seven feet was a quantity of black flints, which appeared to have been purposely laid in a distinct course; not weathered flints like those on the surface, but such as are taken from the chalk cuttings in the hills at some distance, this hill having no flints in its chalk. At seventy-two feet were bones of animals, fragments of coarse red pottery, and a large quantity of charred wood. At seventy-five feet were more bones; and at eighty-one feet bones, charred wood, and pieces of black pottery. The diameter of the shaft is forty-two inches to the depth of seventy feet, and then gradually lessened to the depth of one hundred and ten feet, where it measures thirty-one inches across."

A more recently discovered well in Oxfordshire is described in a letter by Mr. Winwood Reade, in the *Times* of the 5th of October, 1860, to which Mr. Wyatt refers, but which I have not read. Mr. Wyatt considers both to be Roman wells.

In support of this opinion (although I do not suppose that the Romans were the only people who made foot-holes in their wells) is Borlase's¹ description of a well discovered in the Roman quadrilateral camp at Bosence, six-and-a-half miles E.N.E. of Penzance, on an eminence more elevated than any near it. This is the camp mentioned in my paper on Roman Remains in Cornwall, printed in this Journal for April, 1858, p. 174.

It was "a perpendicular pit, circular, of two-and-a-half feet diameter. Digging to the depth of eighteen feet, there was found a Roman *Patera*, about six feet deeper, the Jug," then a weight and a small millstone. "Digging further still they found another *Patera*, with two handles.... Intermixed were found fragments of horns, bones of several sizes, half burnt sticks, and many pieces of leather, shreds of worn out shoes. Having sunk to the depth of thirty-six feet, they found the bottom of the pit concave, like that of a dish, or bowl. There was a sensible moisture and wet clay in all parts of the pit. In each side there were holes at due distances, capable of admitting a human foot, so that persons might descend and ascend. There is no doubt but this work must have been intended for a well."

I imagine that this pit in Cornwall, as well as that in Bedfordshire, was only "intended for a well," and that when the owners failed to reach water, they filled it up with the nearest rubbish they could find.

I am, &c.

R. EDMONDS.

Penzance, January, 1861.

¹ *Antiquities of Corn.*, 2nd edit., 1769, p. 316.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 59.—JEREMY TAYLOR'S PULPIT.—It is stated that a few years ago, Jeremy Taylor's Pulpit, which had always been preserved in the Mansion of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, as a valuable memento of so great a man, was destroyed by one of the servants, without the knowledge of the noble owner, and cut up for firewood. We cannot but hope that this statement may prove to be incorrect.

J. P.

Query 109.—OWEN'S MAP OF WALES.—What is the authority for William Owen's Map of Wales, "*according to the antient divisions of Gwynedd, Powys, and Dinefawr, with their respective cantreys, subdivided into Comots,*" appended to Powell's History of Wales? This Map was engraved by T. Conder, and was published April 3, 1788, by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-yard London. By whom was this map first compiled?

T. W.

Query 110.—MOUND, NEAR ST. DEVEREUX, HEREFORDSHIRE. A low mound exists in a meadow near this plain, on the western side of the Hereford and Abergavenny Railway. Can any information be given as to its name? Is there any local tradition connected with it?

J.

Note 60.—COCKPITS. In many places in Wales, generally on spots convenient for the village, old Cockpits may be observed. They are found sometimes as simple depressions in the ground: at other times as hollows formed on the top of low mounds. Such things may be observed at Aberavon, Glamorganshire, on a mound in the middle of the trenches of the old castle, west of the churchyard: in the field in front of the new Rectory House at Llandwrog, Carnarvonshire.—Near the Church at Llanfrynach, Brecknockshire. Further information is desired on this subject; and Members are recommended to make a note of any instance that may occur to their observation.

H.

Miscellaneous Notices.

WILLIAMS'S CORNISH DICTIONARY.—It gives us great pleasure to state, that the work is now under the press, and that its appearance may be shortly expected. We doubt not that all Celtic antiquaries will be glad of this intelligence.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH, CARMARTHEN.—We understand that a new roof is about to be made for this fine old church. Much has been done of late to improve the edifice; and if the roof be constructed in harmony with the style of the original building, before it was barbarized during the last century, the interior will become one of the most effective in Carmarthenshire. Subscriptions are said to be coming in liberally.

ABERYSICR CHURCH, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.—During the late repairs of this Church an incised slab or coffin-lid, apparently of the fifteenth century, has been discovered. We hope to give an account of this monument, and of the Church itself in a future number of the Journal.

NEVERN CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.—An effort is being made to restore the Parish Church of Nevern, in the County of Pembroke. It has been one of much beauty, but little of that is now left, and it is the anxious desire of the parishioners to restore it, by putting in new windows, taking away the ceiling, opening a fine western arch by removing the present gallery, and by new seating the Church, if funds can be obtained. When the present pews come to be removed and the walls touched, we expect that several incised coffin lids and other objects of antiquity,—such as the missing *EMERITI* inscription,—will be found. We could wish to know the architect's name.

NEWTON CHURCH, GLAMORGANSHIRE.—This interesting building—the church of our lamented friend, the late Rev. H. H. Knight—has just been repaired and restored by his brother, the Rev. E. D. Knight, of Nottage Court. The works have been carried on by Messrs. Pritchard & Seddon, and the result is very satisfactory.

Reviews.

NORRIS'S ANCIENT CORNISH DRAMA.

WE now proceed to give some account of the actual text of the Dramas themselves, and of their subjects. With regard to the former we do not intend to make any philological remarks: we wish rather to introduce our readers to the text of these ancient plays—leaving it with all its peculiarities to their criticism:—the language or dialect, new as it is to most Welshmen, has been so little studied, or rather, has become so obsolete, that it requires the combined powers of all our ablest students to trace out its affinities, and distinguish its characteristics. We hope indeed that the members of our Association will not let the entire weight of this task lie on the learned author of the *Cornish Dictionary*,—the only living scholar we believe, who can actually write in Cornish as skilfully as in his native language;—but that critics will arise amongst us; and that they will handle the texts of Mr. Norris's volumes in a philosophical spirit. Probably some of our Breton brethren may be glad of this opportunity to draw comparisons between two kindred dialects, and then to form one more link in that chain which binds Armorica, Damnonia, and Cambria so closely together.

We would merely remark, that in making the extracts which we now lay before members, our object has been to select those passages which present linguistic peculiarities and difficulties, rather than those which may be called the "*Beauties*" of each drama. We think that in some of these passages we discern words that prove these texts to be of a date more recent than Mr. Norris himself supposes—especially words that shew their French derivation, and possibly their comparatively modern application. The instances will become so obvious, on perusing the passages quoted, that we need not stop to point them out more specifically to our readers' notice.

The first drama is called "*Ordinale de origine mundi*;" and with its translation occupies 217 pages of Mr. Norris's first volume. The plot is similar to that of other "*Mysteries*," on similar subjects; it is derived from the Bible History, but is interlarded with a good deal of Mediæval and earlier legend. In it we find one part devoted to Creation, Adam, and Paradise: another to Noah: another to Abraham: another to Moses: another to David: and the concluding portion to Solomon with the marvellous legend of Maximilla and the Cross added to it. We might well characterize these divisions as the "*Acts*" of the Drama:—only it should be remembered that the actors never left the stage altogether: but that the audience sat out, with marvellous patience, the unbroken yarn of the story, occupying, as it must have done, some three or four hours, if not more, of unrespected attention.

We give the opening, not devoid of grace and dignity:—"Hic incipit ordinale de origine mundi,"

DEUS PATER.

En tas a nef y'm gylwyr
formyer pup tra a vyt gvrys
Onan ha try on yn gyrr
en tas ha'n map ha'n spyrys
ha hethyv me a thesyr
dre ov grath dalleth en beys
y lanaraf nef ha tyr
bethens formyys orth ov brys

lemmen pan yv nef thy'n gwrys
ha lenwys a eleth splan
ny a vyn formye an bys
par del on try hag onan
an tas ha'n mab ha'n spyrys
pur ryl yn sur certan
an re-ma yv oberys
del vynsyn agan honan

yn second dyth y fynna
gruthyl ebron nef hynwys
rag ythevel thy'm bos da
yn kynsa dyth myns vs gvrys
bethens ebron dreys pup tra
rak kvthe myns vs formyys
rak synsy glaw a wartha
the'n nor vey's may fe dyllys

After the creation of Eve, whom Adam by the way styles "Vyrago," the first man is summoned by the Creator to name all the denizens of earth, air, and flood :—

DEUS PATER.

Adam otte an puskes
ythyn a'n nef ha'n bestes
kefrys yn tyr hag yn mor
ro thethe aga hynwyn
y a thue the'th worhemmy'n
saw na byhgh y war nep cor

ADAM.

yt'hanwaf bugh ha tarow
ha margh yw best hep parow
the vap den rag ymweres
gaver yweges karow
daves war ve (?) lavarow
hy hanow da kemeres

lemyn hanwaf goyth ha yar
a sensaf ethyn hep par
the vygyens den war an beys
hos payon colom grygyer
swan bargos bryny ha'n er
moy drethof a vyth hynwys

y rof hynwyn the'n puskes
porpus sowmens syllyes
of thy'm gustyth y a vyth
lenesow ha barfusy
pyak ragof ny wra skvys
mar corthyaf dev yn perfyth

GOD THE FATHER.

The Father of Heaven I am called,
The Creator of all things that are made;
One and three we are in truth,
The Father, and the Son, and the Spirit;
And this day I desire
By my grace to begin the world.
I say, Heaven and Earth
Be they created by my judgment.

Now when heaven is made to us,
And filled with bright angels,
We will create the earth,
Like as we are three and one,
The Father and the Son and the Spirit;
Very royal, sure and certainly
These are wrought
As we ourselves would.

On the second day I will
Make the sky called heaven;
For it appears to me to be good
All that was made on the first day.
Let the sky be above all things,
To cover all that is created,
To keep the rain above,
That it may be dropped on the face of
earth.

GOD THE FATHER.

Adam, behold the fishes,
The birds of heaven and the beasts,
Equally in land and in sea;
Give to them their names,
They will come at thy command,
But do not mistake them in any sort.

ADAM.

I name oow, and bull,
And horse, it is a beast without equal
For the son of man to help himself;
Goat, steer, stag, [125
Sheep, from my words
To take their names.

Now I name goose and fowl,
I hold them birds without equal
For food of man on the earth;
Duck, peacock, pigeon, partridge,
Swan, kite, crows, and the eagle
Further by me are named.

I give names to the fishes
Porpoises, salmon, congers,
All to me obedient they shall be;
Ling and cod,
A fish from me shall not escape,
If I honour God perfectly.

DEUS PATER.

Rag bones ol tek ha da
in whed dyth myas yw formyys
Aga sona ny a wra
may fe seythves dyth hynwys
hen yw dyth a bowesva
the pup den a vo sylwys
yn dysquythyens a henna
ny a bowes desempys

145

GOD THE FATHER.

For that all is fair and good,
In six days all that is created,
Bless them we will;
Let it be called the seventh day.
This is a day of rest
To every man that may be saved;
In declaration of that
We will rest forthwith.

145

A very curious episode about the begetting of Seth; and a legend about Seth getting right up to the gate of paradise, wherein he sees a tree all dry and bare, with its branches reaching up to Heaven, and its roots "even into Hell descending" in true Virgilian fashion;—and on observing it a third time discerns a little babe in swaddling clothes "high up on the branches," explained by an attendant cherub to be the Son of God, the future saviour; after all this Adam dies, Seth burns him: and Satan fetches Adam's soul down to Hell. Then follow the Noachian,—the Abrahamic,—and the Mosaic portions:—all treated with much dramatic skill and picturesque effect. Indeed, what may be called the dramatic incidents and the stage proprieties are carefully attended to throughout:—such as in the sacrifice of Isaac, and in the Exodus. All this part of the drama is well worth attending to; if not for the sake of the language, yet in order to shew how much may really be made out of the Bible Narrative, for the edification—we had almost said the amusement—we mean the intellectual pleasure—of the people. This drama might safely be cut up into so many separate ones:—they might each be expanded;—and really, for nine-tenths of mankind, they would constitute good "acting plays"—such dramas as most ordinary people would willingly sit and listen to, even in our morbidly degenerate days.

The legend of Moses planting on Mount Thabor three rods, which are afterwards to furnish the wood for the Saviour's Cross, amid many miracles, concludes this part of the drama:—Moses dies, and the Davidian episode commences. The warlike king enters abruptly, walks about the circular stage and the following dialogue ensues:—

REX DD.

Wose cous ha lafurye
an vaner a vye da
kemeres croust hag eve
ha powes wose henna
botler fystyn hep lettye
doro thy'm a'n guyn guella
rys yv thy'm porrys coake
possygyon yn pen yma

1900

1905

KING DAVID.

After talk and work,
The custom is good
To take food and drink,
And rest after that.
Butler, haste without stop,
Bring me the best wine;
Need to sleep is come upon me,
Drowsiness is in my head.

1900

1905

PINCERNA.

ov arluth ker na vyth serryys
kettoth an ger my a thue thy's
yn pup teller thy'm may fo res
preest hep danger vethaf parys

1910

BUTLER.

My dear lord, be not angry,
Soon as the word, I come to you,
In every place where I may be wanted,
Soon, without danger, I shall be ready.

[1910]

parles vous et synour myn
rag gvel dewas vytteyth vyn
nyns a yn agas ganow
yn pov-ma nynsus gvel guyn
rag hemma yv pyment fyn
yyf ov arluth hep parow

1915

Parlez, vous-êtes seigneur mien,
For any better drink of wine
Goes not into your mouth.
In this country there is no better wine,
For this is fine liquor;
Drink it, my lord without equal.

1915

David is ordered in a dream to ride to Mount Thabor, to fetch the rods of Moses to Jerusalem, where they will be wanted in after ages:—the king wakes, and says—

ov messayger ' kyrgh ov courser
the varogeth
ol tus ov chy ' deugh genef vy
bryntyn ha keth

1960

My messenger, ' bring my courser,
To ride:
All men of my house, ' come with me,
Nobles and commons.

1960

NUNCIUS.

MESSENGER.

ov arluth by godys day
parys yv an stede gay
yn weth an courser melyn
kefrys kakney ha palfray
ymmons yn nobyl aray
arluth pan vynny yakyn

1965

My lord, by God's day,
Ready is the gay steed,
Also the yellow courser;
Likewise hackney and palfray
Are in noble array;
Lord, when thou wilt, mount.

1965

REX DD.

KING DAVID.

messayger ov banneth dy's
my a vyn a thysempys
marogeth ware bys t'y
yn evn forth th'y may thyllyn
may feen hembrynkys peeyn
en tas dev luen a vercy

1970

Messenger, my blessing on thee!
I will immediately
Ride, presently, even to it.
In the right road to it that we may go,
That we may be led, we pray
The father God, full of mercy.

1970

REX DD.

KING DAVID.

whethoug menstreles ha tabours
trey-hans harpes ha trompours
cythol crowd fylh ha savtry
psalmus gyttrens ha nakrys
organs in weth cymbalys
recordys ha symphony
[ad equestres]

1995

Blow minstrels and tabours;
Three hundred harps and trumpets;
Dulcimer, fiddle, viol, and psaltery;
Shawms, lutes, and kettle drums;
Organs, also cymbals,
Recorders and symphony.
[To the riders.]

1995

lemyn pep ol yskynnens
yn hanow a'n tas dev ker
ha war tv tre fystenens
kefrys marrek ha squyer

2000

Now let all mount,
In the name of the Father, dear God,
And hasten to the side of home,
Knight and squire likewise.

2000

The rods are brought to Jerusalem amid miracles: they are laid on the ground before the King's House: but during the night they unite and grow into a single tree, around which David orders a silver girdle to be put. The King then sees Bathsheba "washing her dress in a stream:" the history proceeds: David dies: and Solomon begins building the Temple. In doing this, wood for some exceedingly straight beam is wanted, and by the king's order they cut down the tree with the silver girdle, which after a miraculous shortening and lengthening is at last carried on men's shoulders and fitted into the Temple. A carpenter, however, in speaking of the timber required, had previously said

by godys fast wel y set
thys tumbyr ys even y met
ha compos rag an fossow

2435

By God's fast, well said,
This timber is made even,
And straight to the walls.

2435

tyorrryon yn ketep chet
tyeugh an temple hep let
na theffo glaw the'n stylyow

Tilers, every fellow,
Cover the temple, without stopping,
That the rain come not to the rafters.

When the building is finished King Solomon speaks thus :—

banneth a'n tas re ges bo	2585	Blessing of the Father be on you!	2585
why as-byth by godys fo		You shall have, by God's faith,	
agas gobyr eredy		Your payment, surely;	
warbarth ol gueel behethlen		Together all the field of Bohellan,	
ha coys penryn yn tyen		And the wood of Penryn, wholly,	
my a's re lemyr theugh why	2590	I give them now to you;	2590
hag ol guer-thour		And all the water-courses.	
an enys hag arwennek		The island and Arwinnick,	
tregenver ha kegyllek		Tregenver and Kegellick,	
annethe gureugh theugh chartour		Make of them a charter to you.	

Solomon then ordains "a priest, my privy seal, to be bishop in the temple" (*Mab-lyen ov sel pryve the vos epscop yn temple*). Afterwards Maximilla comes into the temple; sits on a stove: sets her clothes on fire—and invokes Christ to "assuage the power of the flame and the fire":—the Bishop hears her: questions her: elicits from her a declaration of faith in the Trinity: and upbraids her thereupon in these words—

EPISCOPUS.

out warnas a pur vyl scout
hep thout pestyores stout
kyn fy mar prout ty a'n pren
nygh for sorw y am ful woud
thow harlot for goddys bloud
ro thy'm cusyl avel den

2670

BISHOP.

Out upon thee! O most vile scout;
Without doubt a stout witch,
Since thou art so ready for the tree.
Nigh for sorrow I am full wud.
Thou knave for God's blood,
Give me counsel like a man.

2670

CROCIARIUS.

my a'th cusyl hep cabel
my tellyng ys no fabel
mar mynnyth hy dystrewy
orden the'th tus hy knoukye
gans meyn na hethens nefre
er na varwa eredy

2675

CROCIER BEARER.

I counsel thee, without a trial
(My telling is no fable)
If thou wilt put her to death,
Order thy people to beat her
With stones, nor ever stop
Until she be dead quite.

2675

- EPISCOPUS.

by godys fast wel y seyð
vos eet bon se dev ma eyd
ha den fur a'd cusullyow
tormentors bras ha byan
deugh yn rag ketep onan
lemyn yn ov othommow

2680

BISHOP.

By God's faith, well said;
Vous êtes bon, si Dieu m'aide,
And a prudent man of thy counsels.
Executioners, great and small,
Come forth every one
Now in my necessities.

2680

IS TORTOR.

heyl ov arloth stout ha gay
wheys yv ov thal by thys day
thy'so gy ov fystene
tel my annon y the pray
what shal y do yf y may
my a'n gura war ov ens

2685

FIRST EXECUTIONER.

Hail, my lord, stout and gay,
Sweet is on my forehead, by this day,
To you hastening.
Tell me anon, I thee pray,
What shall I do? If I may,
I will do it, on my soul.

2685

2690

2690

Maximilla is subsequently martyred: the tree is ordered by the Bishop to be carried to Bethsaida, where, however, miraculous cures are immediately worked; the tree is ultimately brought over Cedron, and

the drama closes by Solomon inviting all the people to come in good time *the next day* to see the *Passio Domini*!

During the latter part of the Drama, mention is frequently made of places in Cornwall, the names of which, as observed in a previous review, tend to fix the locality where the drama was probably composed.

At the conclusion, the principal *dramatis personæ* seem to have stationed themselves in a fixed order within the circular area of their hypæthral theatre—to receive, we hope, the applause of the spectators;—and the whole finishes with a kind of *tableau vivant*, thus:—

“*Celum*”—“*Tortores*”—“*Infernum*”—“*Rex Pharao*”—“*Rex David*”—“*Rex Salomon*”—“*Abraham*”—“*Episcopus*”—the Divine personage being, very properly, unrepresented; the curtain does not fall—there not being one; and the people disperse.

CATALOGUE OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF ANIMAL MATERIALS AND BRONZE IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.
By W. R. WILDE, M.D., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. London: Williams and Norgate.

WE are happy to have to announce the publication of the second part of this exceedingly valuable work: a work as creditable to the Society under whose auspices, and by whose encouragement, it has been produced, as to the distinguished author from whose pen it proceeds. In a former volume (Ser. iii, vol. iv, p. 116), we gave a short account of the first part, containing the catalogue of the antiquities of stone, earthen, and vegetable materials, and spoke in high terms of the use it must be of to all antiquaries who study the remains of the primeval races that inhabited these islands. It is, indeed, only by the study of such remains as are described and figured in this Catalogue, that we can arrive at any just idea of the state in which those early tribes existed. We possess no history of them other than that to be derived from the relics of their habitations, weapons, tools, domestic utensils and implements now to be found buried in the ground, overgrown by peat, hidden in tombs, or sunk to the bottom of lakes and rivers.

With the exception of the Museum at Copenhagen, there is no national collection of the local antiquities of any country, at all comparable to that formed by the Royal Irish Academy, and admirably arranged and preserved in their house at Dublin. As the relics of early branches of the great Celtic nation they are of especial interest to Welsh antiquaries. It is true that neither the Principality nor Great Britain afford to the explorer anything approaching to a similar abundance of ancient remains, such as have been and are being discovered in Ireland. We thought that we had numerous specimens of stone and bronze tools and weapons, and certainly many are preserved in our museums and private collections, but what are they in comparison with the thousands found in Ireland? A mere catalogue therefore of them would have been valuable, but when the list is combined with the ample illustrative remarks and engravings on wood contained in this

work, it becomes of national importance. To call this book a Catalogue is rather misleading the public, for it is really a Prehistoric History of Ireland, extended, indeed, by a continuous series of objects far into the historic period. Ireland is admirably circumstanced for such a work, connecting the unwritten with the written parts of history, from its having been continuously inhabited by the same race. Even the changes in the ruling tribes, traditionally believed to have taken place at an early period, appear to have been simply an alteration of the parts of the same great nation, which possessed the predominance; all the tribes spoke closely cognate dialects of the same language, and had similar habits, although differing in their degree of civilization.

This recently published part of the Catalogue, containing the account of the Antiquities formed of Animal Materials and Bronze, is larger than the former portion. It contains three hundred and ninety-five octavo pages, and is illustrated with three hundred and seventy-seven wood engravings. It is sold by Williams and Norgate in London, for the small sum of seven shillings and sixpence.

Some idea of its contents may be formed from the following imperfect sketch. Handles for stone and bronze weapons and tools were formed of animal materials (bone), or even the very weapons and tools themselves, such as daggers, spear-heads, drinking vessels and combs. The beautiful manner in which skin dresses were sewn together with fine gut twisted in three strands is well shown. Shoes were formed of a single piece of leather, fashioned to the foot when moist, and held in shape by a thong of the same material. Similar shoes are still in use in the South Isles of Aran, near Galway. Specimens of very remarkable manufactured hair work were found in the county of Cavan. Portions of woollen garments have occasionally been met with, the uses of which are illustrated by copies of the illuminations from early Irish manuscripts and extracts from descriptions contained in them. A complete suit of woollen clothing was found, covering a male body in a bog in the county of Sligo. This is in so perfect a state of preservation that Dr. Wilde persuaded a person to invest himself with it, and has given a representation of him thus attired. "So perfect was the body when first discovered, that a magistrate was called upon to hold an inquest on it." We presume that the verdict was "A person unknown, smothered in a bog." At least we may be sure that his friends did not appear to claim the body. It is astonishing how perfectly the human body is preserved for ages when totally immersed in peat.

Next we have pins, ornaments, and many curious miscellaneous articles formed of bone. Amongst the most interesting are two bones carved with artistic devices, similar to the beautiful and intricate interlacing patterns found in the Irish manuscripts, and on sculptured crosses and metal shrines, or worked into the tracery of early Irish ecclesiastical architecture. They are beautifully and minutely executed, and supposed to be the designs of an engraver, as specimens of his work or trials of his skill.

We now come to the Metallic Materials, the account of which occu-

pies the greater part of the volume before us. And here it is difficult to know how to convey an idea of the variety, number, and beauty of the articles described. We can do no more than enumerate a few of them, and must refer our readers to the book itself, the cheapness of which brings it within the reach of all antiquaries.

Dr. Wilde commences this part of his work with a very interesting Introduction, in which he gives a short account of the time and mode in which the use of metals is supposed to have been introduced into Ireland, and the way in which they were obtained. Of what are called *celts* (which he derives from *celtis*, a chisel) an enormous number has been found, upwards of two thousand are known to exist. The earliest were made of copper and are rare, there are twenty-six in the collection. They are rude, flat, thin, and broad, and bear a great similarity to their stone predecessors of the rudest description. Bronze celts are of three kinds—the *simple flat celt*, the *winged celt* or *palstave*, and the *socketed celt*. The first, if attached to a handle, must have been received into it; the second mutually received and was received into the handle; and the third was hollowed at the end like a modern spud, and had the handle inserted into it. The three varieties pass insensibly into each other. The *flat celt* gradually acquires an elevated border on each side, and became a *winged celt* of the simplest kind. After a time, a transverse ridge was made to join the border and form a stop to prevent the implement from splitting the handle. This ridge gradually increased in elevation, and the elevated borders were ultimately hammered down so as more or less to inclose the handle. The next step was to join these borders and remove the septum which separated the blades of the handle, when the implement became a socketed celt. But these were liable to the inconvenience that they had a tendency to fly off the handle after a few blows had been given with them. To obviate this defect, a loop was added to the lower edge of both the winged and socketed kinds, which afforded a means of attaching them to their handles by a stay of some kind. These palstaves and socketed celts seem to have been attached to carved handles to form a kind of axe, or to straight ones like chisels.

We next come to swords, of which the most beautiful are the leaf-handled and rapier bladed. One of the former is twenty-two inches long and two wide in the broadest part. It is nearly flat and quite smooth. A rapier-bladed specimen is thirty inches and a quarter long, two inches and a quarter across the handle plate, and only five-eighths of an inch across the centre of the blade, which has a very elevated midrib upon each side.

There is yet another form of sword, namely, the *broad and triangular*. These taper from the hilt to the point. Of the leaf-shaped there are ninety in the collection. And the total number of sword blades of the broad-triangular and long narrow rapier forms are thirty-five. "But as all the sword forms merge gradually, first into short weapons for close combat, and then into the most diminutive dirk or stiletto, it is difficult to draw any precise line of demarcation between the sword and dagger. This easy transition from the longest sword to the dagger of the same form; the fact that no two of the weapons

are duplicates, or were cast from the same mould ; as well as the circumstance of the very great variety of such weapons in this collection, lends support to the belief that there was an extensive manufactory of such articles in Ireland in very remote times."

An account of the spears, arrow head, tools, sickles, and other things follow. Of these, perhaps, the most interesting are the personal ornaments, consisting of breast and hair pins of the most quaint forms, the fibulæ and armillæ. But we have not space to enter upon any minute account of them. Those persons who take an interest in such things, of whom we hope that there are many amongst our readers, must study the book itself.

We learn that Dr. Wilde hopes to obtain some part of the funds for printing the third and concluding part, which will contain the articles of gold, by the sale of this and preceding parts. The book is so cheap and so well deserving of patronage that we hope that he will succeed, and earnestly recommend our readers to order it at once.

THE RECORDS OF DENBIGH AND ITS LORDSHIP, by JOHN WILLIAMS. Vol. i. Wrexham: George Bayley. 1860.

THIS may be considered a continuation or second volume of *Ancient and Modern Denbigh*, 1856, by the same author, noticed in the Journal as it was issued, in parts. Mr. Williams, a Welsh scholar, modestly makes no claim to rank as a county historian, but has exhibited great energy and perseverance in presenting to the public a copy of the *Inq. Post-Mortem of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln*, 1311, and (his synopsis of) an abridgement of the *Extent of Denbigh*, 1334, made for him by gentlemen whose names (p. 38 and 102) suggest their correctness. We were ourselves told by the highest authority in the British Museum, that he was quite sure that the *Extent* could not be published with remuneration to any one, unless under government auspices, as was the *Record of Carnarvon*, which may be understood on comparing Mr. Williams, pp. 185-6, with the extracts given and referred to (contractions extended) in the Journal of 1853, p. 153.

We have from time to time since the 1846 volume, p. 346, pointed out these records, those of the corporation, and other manuscripts connected with Denbigh, and the volume of 1855 brought to light the original Lacy charter, which was probably granted in 1284. On the 8th of September of that year Edward I gave charters to Conway and Carnarvon from Flint, and on the 23rd of October the abbots of Conway had a grant of lands *formerly* given to Lacy. The compiler's two volumes show that he has made good use of our hints.

We do not find any further evidence as to the execution of two of the Salusbury family for levelling the Earl of Leicester's encroachments; nor does there appear any proof of the Lacy grant to Rosindale and Chambre given in Elizabethan pedigrees; though the former were hereditary tenants in 1334, and the latter name is alluded to in 1282, p. 63. It appears, however, quite probable that many tenants of

1334 had inherited from Lacy grants, and one is alluded to, p. 43, to William and John Swynmor.

In the 1850 (p. 153) and 1852 (p. 70) volumes of the Journal, a notice appeared of the probable origin of the family of Salusbury (who became so predominantly eminent), and we find these deductions confirmed in every way; though differing so entirely from the statements in Burke's *Peerage*, 1860, as to the "origin of Salesbury Hall, Lancashire;" and as to "a grant of Edward I, still preserved with great care;" and from the statements of origin again made public by the recent publication of Mrs. Piozzi's *Autobiography*. In the park of Lleweny, where, we presume, the hall arose in after years, the name does not even appear in 1334; but Henry (son of Adam), John, and Alice, widow of Thomas, held about fifty acres in that township. It may be here observed, that the style of inscription on the mutilated brass of a John (A. and M. D., p. 325), does not answer for the year 1289; it was known 1395-1500.

Of somewhere about two hundred and sixty different English names in 1334, only three are supposed to exist in the district, or to be connected with it by property, and only one borne by *resident* gentry, that of Heaton, which as Henry de Heton then first appears; and of the names in the 1284 charter, the author only finds five existing between 1597-1660,—Peake, Pygot, Taylor, Clarke, and Hilton; and of these the first only holding property in the lordship at the present era. Richard Peek had in 1334 fifty-two acres of his own, had leave to erect a fulling-mill, and farmed mills and lands of the lords. He, his two sons, Thomas and Henry, a Roger, and a William, held together over ninety acres of their own, and paid in all £12.

Holton and Pontefract are the names which appear most often in 1334, both in 1284, and the latter also as jurors in 1311. The list of sheriffs of the county appears to agree with that in the Harl. MS., 2122.

The compiler has given some notice of every name connected with Denbigh, additional information as to Sir Hugh Middelton, whose life has made the place known to the world, also as to Sir R. Clough. Our Welsh readers will find much to interest in the mediæval poetry with which Mr. Williams has illustrated his industrious labours; and this graphical result of the English Conquest will not only be of value to those living in, or connected with the locality, but to the general student of history.

The particulars of the commotes of Uchaled and Uchdulas, of the Vale of Conway, the hills of Hieraethog, etc., the author purposes publishing in a second volume, together with the Records of Ruthin and its Lordship.

Collectors interested in Denbigh, will probably find Speed's Map of the town, 1596; engravings of Lleweny Hall, etc., in the portfolios of our London print shops.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXVII.—JULY, 1861.

EARLS AND EARLDOM OF PEMBROKE.

X. AYMER DE VALENCE, Earl of Pembroke, Lord of Valence, Rancon, Wexford, Montignac, Belac, and Champagnac. Born about 1280. (Anselm III, 78; Cal. R. P., 115.)

Although Earl Aymer succeeded his father in 1296, he does not appear to have assumed the title of Pembroke until his mother's death, about eleven years later. From 6th Feb., 27 Ed. I, to 19th Jan., 1 Ed. II (*Archæol.*, xxi, 204), he was summoned simply as Aymer de Valence; but at the latter date, when he did homage for his mother's lands, his style was Earl of Pembroke. His precedence, during his mother's life, was before the barons, and next after Henry of Lancaster, excepting in two instances, when he is placed among the earls, though designated by his family name. The earldom, no doubt, was attached to Countess Joan's dower. (*Ibid.*)

The Earl was an active, stirring soldier, feared and respected. He identified himself with the interests of England, and stood high in the favour of his kinsman, Edward I, who found him an able lieutenant while

“Travailing for to win signory,
And through his might to occupy
Lands that to him were marching”;

and whose representative he was in France and Scotland. Nor, though often in opposition, was he on the whole unfriendly to Edward II.

Little is known of his boyhood. At about sixteen (25 Ed. I) he went with the King to Flanders, and was included in a commission to treat with Florence, Earl of Holland, as to his auxiliaries; and was ambassador to France concerning a truce. (Dug., i, 776.)

In the 26-7 Ed. I, he fought under the King in Scotland, in the campaign against Wallace; and in June, 28 Ed. I, was present at Caerlaverock, where he is thus described by the eulogist of those well-known besiegers:

"Le Valence Aymars li vaillans
De argent et de asure burlee
Tout entour de rouge merolos."

"Valiant Valence Sir Aymer,
Banner broad there did blazon,
Blue barred and with silver,
With red martlets surrounded."

In this year he had Eclington manor, co. Camb., in chief, by the service of one-fortieth of a knight's fee. (C. R. P., 61.)

In 1301 he signed the Barons' letter to the Pope, designating himself Lord of Montignac. The legend on his seal is only "Sigillum Audomari de Valence." He also again visited France as ambassador, to negotiate a peace with Scotland.

31 Ed. I (1302-3), he was knighted and made Lord of Weysford, or Wexford, in Ireland, one of the chief spoils of his ancestor, Strongbow (Gough, i, 9); and was Guardian of the Scottish Marches, and General-in-Chief of the levies against Bruce. He had also license to go beyond sea on his private affairs (A. R. O., i, 125), probably to assert his succession to his cousin, Guy le Brun, thirteenth of the name, and the last Lord of Lusignan, De la Marche, and Angoulesme, who died at that time, childless, 24 Nov., 1308. Earl Aymer seems to have compounded his claim with the French king. (Anselm, iii, 98.)

33 Ed. I he was Sheriff of Selkirk, and had a grant of the castles of Selkirk and Traquair, and the borough of Peebles, by the service of one knight's fee, with other Scottish lands. In 1306 (34 Ed. I), being Guardian of the Scottish Marches on the Berwick side, he commanded a third part of the English troops in Scotland, directed against Bruce on the occasion of his coronation; and had a quittance from the crown, probably of fees due on his father's estate, as he had previously had in 1303. (Kal. Exch., i, 40.) It is this part of his career, the hunting down of Bruce, in which his success was but moderate, that is described by Barbour and Peter of Langtoft. Upon the death of Comyn, says Barbour,—

——— “Sir Aymer
The Valence, who was wise and wight,
And of his hand a worthy knight,”

was dispatched with Philip Mowbray and Ingram de Umfravile to take vengeance. They marched to Perth, and there took up their quarters, with three hundred men at arms; while Bruce appeared before the walls, and challenged them to come forth. Sir Aymer and Mowbray were for accepting; but Umfravile advised delay, and taking Bruce by surprise. Accordingly, on Bruce's retreating about a mile towards Methuen, they followed, and worsted him at night, in a combat in which Sir Aymer took part:

“In the stour so hardily
He rushed with his chivalry,
That he drove his foes each one.” (Barbour, ii, 402.)

Nor was his mercy inferior to his courage; for when Edward ordered the prisoners to be drawn and hung,—

“Sir Aymer did not so.
To some both life and land gave he,
To leave the Bruce's fealty.” (ii, 457.)

Edward then took command in person, and dispatched Aymer with John of Lorn and a force to follow Bruce:

“For to hunt him out of the land
With hound and horn, right as he were
A wolf, a thief.” (vi, 468.)

It was in this year (1306) that Nigel Bruce was taken in Kildrummie Castle, and hanged by the English. Robert Bruce fled through Cumnock, tracked by a bloodhound followed by John of Lorn, whose misadventure is recorded in Scottish history. Soon afterwards, returning from Arran, Bruce and Douglas defeated a part of the Earl's force at Ayr; upon which, like a courteous adversary, Sir Aymer, or the poet in his name, observes,

“Now may we clearly see
That noble heart, where'er it be,
Is hard to overcome through mastery;
For where a heart is right worthy
Against stoutness it is aye stout.” (vii, 352.)

Sir Aymer, urged by his men, returned to Carlisle, leaving Bruce in Carrick, until hearing of him as hunting and sporting in a forest in East Ayr,

“He thought with a great many
To shoot upon him suddenly”; (vii, 389.)

and riding by night, and hiding by day, they arrived unsuspected, six to one, and sent forward a female spy. Bruce, meeting the woman, extorted from her

“How that Sir Aymer
With the Clifford in company,
With the flower of Northumberland,
Were coming on them at their hand”; (vii, 560.)

and made his preparations accordingly. As they came up, Bruce drew his sword, snatched his banner from the bannerman, and gave them so brisk a reception that—

“Sir Aymer, who was wise,
Departed thence with mickle pain,
And went to England home again,
* * *
With more shame than he went from town.”

He next appears in Bothwell and Kyle; but his supporter, Mowbray, was attacked in a pass, and discomfited by Douglas; on which they fled by Kilmarnock and Ardrossan to the English garrison at Ennerkyp. Bruce moved to Loudoun Hill, where Sir Aymer called upon him to come down, saying it was better to be ready

“ With hard dints in even fighting,
Than to do far more with skulking.” (viii, 139.)

Bruce responded :

“ Say to thy Lord, if that I be
In life, he shall me see that day
While near, if he dare hold the way
That he has said ; for sickerly
By Loudoun Hill meet him will I.” (146.)

The poet describes the combat with great spirit :

“ Sir Aymer, on the tother party,
Gathered so great chivalry
That he might be three thousand near,
Armed and dight in good manner,
That as a man of great noblay [intrepidity]
He held toward his tryste his way.
When the set day coming was
He sped him fast toward the place
That he named for to fight.
The sun was risen, shining bright,
That shewed on the shieldes broad.
In two eschelis [battalia] ordained he had
The folk that he had in leading.

* * *

Their basnets burnished all bright,
Against the sun gleaming off light;
Their spears, pennons, and their shields,
Off light enlumined all the fields :
There best and browdyn [shaken and unfurled] were
bright banners,
And horses hewyt [tinged] on ser [divers] manners,
And coat armour of ser colours,
And hauberks that were white as flowers,
Made them glittering, as they were like
To angels high of heavens ryk [kingdom].” (207.)

Bruce won the battle, and Sir Aymer fled to Bothwell, and shortly afterwards (7 Jul., 1307) King Edward died.

This same campaign has also been described by an English poet, Peter of Langtoft. He says :

“ Now goes the Bruce about where he thinks to hold,
The English they catched out, to the King they told :
Edward then he took folk with his banner ;
The Earl went of Pembroke, his name was Sir Aymer,
And other men full good, barons and barons peers ;
At time well they stood, and did their devoir.

The date was a thousand, three hundred more by six,
When the war of Scotland through the Bruce oft wax.

Sir Eymer of Valence lay at St. John's town
In his alliance with many earl and baron,
Of Scotland the best were then in his faith.
There they go all rest, till they heard other graith.
Sir Robert the Bruce sent to Sir Eymer,
And bad he should refuse that ilka pantenese,
The traitors of his that him had forsaken,
They should to the Jewise when they the town had taken;
The tother day on the morn came the Bruce Robert;
The town wist it before through spies that they had.
Sir Eymer will have you out, Sir Ingram Umfravile
Prayed him for to lout, till it were more that while.
If we now outward, and leave the town alone,
They get the faired earth, and we be slain ilk one;
But do cry through the town, that none for weal nor woe
In sheet walk up and down, but to their innes go.

"On St. Margaret's day Sir Ingram and Sir Eymere
Came on where they lay all dight to the dinner:
Their vanward was soon dight, our English had marvaile,
They were so soon at the fight, and ready to assaile;
The English through them ran, and had the fairer side,
The Scots ilka man, the lords durst not bide.
Here now a contrevore through Robert's avis,
Abowen their armour did serkis and surplis.
All they fled on row, in linen white as milk,
For none should them know, their arms whilk were whilk.
Our men that will have dede, bade them forth full stout,
Sir Eymer had no need, he searched them all out;
At the first coming he slouth Sir Eymer's stede
That did Robert the king, and turned back and yede;
Sir Eymer had mowe that horsed him again,
Robert's men they slew, the number uncertain;
Then began the chace and drove the king Robin
To rest had he no space, long to dwell them!"

St. Aymer's conduct appears to have won him the confidence of his sovereign, for he named him Royal Lieutenant in the Scottish Marches (C. R. P., 66), and he was one of the nobles whom Edward, on his death-bed, charged to watch over his son, and to exclude Gaveston, a duty probably to his liking, as the favourite, in allusion to his height and paleness, had nicknamed him "Joseph the Jew" (Dugd. i, 777); and had, besides, in 1307, unhorsed him in a tournament at Wallingford. (Capgrave, 175.)

At Edward's coronation, 25th Feb. 1308, he carried the left boot (Fœd. ii, 36); soon afterwards he was sent with Otho Grandison on an embassy to the Pope, and did homage on his mother's death for her lands, (1 Ed. II.) He was one of the procurators to contract marriage for the king with Isabella of France, and for arranging the dower, and had credentials to the French king (Fœd. iii, 20-3.) He also appears, with other nobles, in a covenant to defend the king's person and the rights of the crown (Dugd., 183). Edward regarded him with favour, and made him Warden and Lieutenant in Scotland.

2 Ed. II. he had livery of the lands of his sister Agnes, whose heir he was; and in March, 1309, he was one of the peers appointed to regulate the household.

It is remarkable that though Gaveston's personal enemy, he witnessed the instrument by which Edward recalled his favourite, and made him Duke of Cornwall. Notwithstanding this, however, he (3 Ed. II), with Thomas of Lancaster, Bohun, and Beauchamp, had a safe conduct from the king to come (C. R. P., 70); and he continued with these nobles, and Earl Warren, to be opposed to Gaveston; and when the favourite was banished in 1311, petitioned that he should be declared incapable of holding any office.

5 Ed. II, he took part in the siege of Scarborough Castle, in which Gaveston was taken, and was among those who accepted Edward's assurance that Gaveston should be dismissed; and who, in return, undertook to save his life and convey him to Wallingford. He was, no doubt, held to have exceeded his powers. At Dedington, while in the custody of Pembroke's servants, the favourite was seized by Warwick, and, 31st July, 1312, beheaded upon Blacklow Hill. (C. R. P., 76. Dugd., 230.)

It seems probable that there was some collusion between Pembroke and Warwick, but the former found means to satisfy the king, whose displeasure fell upon his colleague, Percy, who was summoned by warrant, 6 Ed. II, to answer for his broken pledge, (C. R. P., 75).

Pembroke, with the other adherents of Earl Thomas, was ordered not to approach Parliament with an armed retinue. All, however, were speedily pardoned.

In April, 1312, 5 Ed. II, we find the Earl engaged in an affair worthy of the early days of his father. While Bishop Walter de Langton, the firm but honest adherent of Edward II, was presiding at the Exchequer, de Valence, with Hereford, and others, came and threatened him with the consequences should he continue to intromit himself into the office of treasurer. The king stoutly took part with his officer. (Madox, H. of E., i, 267).

In this year, 6 Ed. II, the Prior of Caermarthen was made King's Chamberlain for Caermarthen, during pleasure. (A. R. O., i, 193). The Earl was impleaded in the King's Bench by John de Clavinger, concerning the Manor of Possewich, in Norfolk. (H. Cole. Documents, etc., 19.) 14th May he was present at the King's Council, when it was decided that a seal should be provided for England, to be used during the king's absence abroad. (Mad., i, 75.) The great seal, upon the fall of Gaveston, had been delivered, 6 Oct., 1312, to the Bishop of Worcester, with injunctions from the Earl of Pembroke and Hugh le Despencer, the king's friends, that he should keep it under the seals of the three former keepers. (Rot. Claus., 5. Ed. II.) In this year, 6 Ed. II, the Earl was again sent to Rome, and he had grants of the New Temple and other property in London. Also he went to Scotland as "Custos Regni," to await Edward's arrival. In the same year there was founded at St. David's, an endowment of three chaplains, to say daily prayers for the souls of William de Valence, John Wogan, and their heirs. (A. R. O., i, 200.)

7 Ed. II. He was found next heir to Dionysia de Vere, (Bridges' Northamp., i, 273,) and had custody of Rockingham Castle and the royal seneschalship between the bridges of Oxford and Stamford, during pleasure, as Alan de Zouch lately held it. (A. R. O., i, 203.)

On 24th June, 1314, the Earl was present, and had a

command, at Bannockburn, and by his interference when all was lost, persuaded the king to retire. Barbour says :

“ Heard I have some men say,
That of Valence Sir Aymer,
When he the field saw vanquished was
By the rein led away the king
Against his will, from the fighting.” (*The Bruce*, xiii, 294.)

The same poet also says Sir Maurice Berkeley left the field :—

“ With a great rout of Welshmen.
Wherever they went men might them ken,
For they well nigh all naked were.”

24th March, 1314, the king constituted Sir Aymer Lieutenant in Scotland (*Fœd.* ii, 245), and at York, 19th August, named him commander, from Trent to Berwick, of the forces for restraining the Scots. (*Ibid*, 252.)

Soon afterwards the Earl had £50 for his expenses to the court of France, in the retinue of the Bishop of Exeter, and on the 3rd July, 1315, £280, in part payment of 2,000 marks, due for his allowance for defending the Scottish Marches ; 1st August he was in Ireland, employed, no doubt, in frustrating the Scottish intrigues, and Adam, his messenger from thence, received 40s. for his news, from the king's own hands. (*Iss. of Exch.*, 8 Ed. II, 125-6-7.)

In 8 Ed. II he was a commissioner for opening the Parliament at York, and was named General of the King's forces north of Trent to Roxborough. Also he had licence to crenellate Bampton, co. Oxon, a building still remaining (*Dom. Arch.* 14th Century, p. 260) ; and to exchange certain Monmouthshire lands with the Cliffords. Also he granted Morton and Whaddon, co. Glou., which he held in fee, to William Touchet ; and released to the Earl of Lancaster his interest in the manor and castle, still standing, of Thorpe-Waterville ; and the manors of Aldwinkle and Achurch, co. North., and the New Temple. (*Dug.*, i, 777 ; *C. R. P.*, 78.) In this year, in the case of Thomas Wiger, tried at Oxford for the death of John Drinkhill, at Noleton,

in Ros, co. Pembroke, it was held to be doubtful whether the King had jurisdiction where his writ did not run.

9 Ed. II he was upon a commission with Wm. Inge and others,—any two, including the Earl, to be a quorum,—to amerce the city and county of Bristol for its late rebellion. (A. R. O., 227.) He was also a commissioner for holding Parliament during the King's absence. (Rot. Parl., i, 352.) Also he paid 20s. for licence to receive certain tenements in Shrivenham, Berks. (A. R. O., 230.)

The 9 Ed. II was the year of Llewelyn Bren's insurrection, which, however, did not extend into West Wales. 11 Feb., 1316, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford and Essex, was nominated Captain of the forces directed against that chieftain. (C. R. P., 80.) 7 July, Earl Aymer was at Keynsham, and assisted to knight Sir Richard de Rodney.

10 Ed. II, De Valence with the Primate and others, were employed in raising money to pay for the presents made to the Pope by the King, and for other expenses. (A. R. O., 236.) In this year he was again in the Scottish wars, and again sent to Rome, with a daily allowance of £5:6:8. (*Arch.*, xxvi, 323.) While on the latter journey with Hotham, Bishop of Ely, they were taken by John Moilley, or Moiller, a Burgundian, and sent to the Emperor. The Earl's ransom was fixed at the enormous sum of £20,000 in silver. The excuse seems to have been the unpaid ransoms of some former prisoners. Edward shewed much activity in his behalf, and wrote divers letters to expedite his delivery, as it would seem with success.

11 Ed. II, the Earl was still Governor of Rockingham Castle, and again visited Scotland. It appears also that he continued to hold the town and castle of Hertford in fee, and the town and castle of Haverford, of the annual value of five hundred marks, for service due upon it. In this year the Countess of Pembroke (probably Earl Aymer's wife) was Bailiff-Seneschal of the Essex forests

during the minority of the son and heir of Richard de Clare. (C. R. P., 83.)

12 Ed. II (9 Aug., 1318) he was summoned to the Parliament at York, and sent to treat with the Earl of Lancaster and others, at Northampton, for the better government of the realm; and he was one of the lords appointed to be about the King. Also he signed the agreement between the King and Lancaster, and was one of those who advised a reversal of the elder Despensers's attainder. He had a licence for a Tuesday market at Redswell in Essex, and a fair; and for an annual fair at Towcester, on the eve of the Annunciation.

In 1319 (13 Ed. II) great disputes arose in South Wales about the barony of Gower. Sir William Braose sold it to Humphrey Earl of Hereford, and then to the two Roger Mortimers, uncle and nephew. In addition to these complications, Sir John Mowbray, who married Braose's daughter and heir, laid claim to it; and finally Despenser the younger seems really to have paid for it, and, favoured by the King, to have made entry. This gave great offence to the barons, and was one of the points taken up by Lancaster. (Capgrave, 186.)

In this year Pembroke had custody of the hundreds of Claydon and Bosemere, co. Suff.; and being Warden of Scotland, he was appointed also Warden of the royal forests north of Trent, until the next Parliament (A. R. O., 249, 252-4), and had licence to go abroad. Probably he did not avail himself of this; for 4 June, 1320 (13 Ed. II), he was named Lieutenant and Keeper of the realm of England, Edward being beyond sea; and 9 Sept., Edward being before Berwick, granted him the hereditaments of Maurice Cauntor, an Irish rebel. (C. R. P., 86-7.) He also obtained licence for a Tuesday weekly market and an annual fair at Painswick.

14 Ed. II he persuaded Roger Mortimer to submit to the king, who, however, shut him up in the Tower. (Dugd. 145.)

15 Ed. II. He was again Custos of Rockingham, which he was directed to fortify and provide. (Mad. H.

of E., i, 383.) 19 January, 1321, he was a commissioner for settling the peace with R. Bruce.

Notwithstanding his general favour with the king, he seems to have been arrested as an enemy to Despencer, in his way from the York Parliament in 1322, and only released on paying a fine and swearing fealty. (Gough, Sep. Mon. i. 85.)

15 Ed. II. When the treasonable alliance between the Scots and Thomas of Lancaster, and the rising of the latter was put an end to at Boroughbridge fight, de Valence was one of the Lords who (22 March, 1323) passed sentence upon the Earl (Capgrave, 190) and afterwards shared in the spoil, recovering, with other lands, the Castle and Manor of Thorpe-Waterville, with Achurch and Aldwinkle in tail general, and the Manor of Higham-Ferrers. (C. R. P. 91. Bridges, ii, 172.) In this year, also, he founded a chantry at Milton by Gravesend, for the souls of his Munchensy ancestors. Of this building some remains have been incorporated into the parsonage house. (Hasted, i, 439. Murray's Kent, 16.) 17 Ed. II, as a Justice in eyre for the forests of Essex he claimed to appoint the Forest Marshall. Soon afterwards he escorted Queen Isabel into France, and was there murdered, three leagues from Compiègne, or, as some say, slain in a tournament, 23 June, 1324, on the day of his third marriage. The monkish writers, who did not forgive him his share in Lancaster's death, say he died of apoplexy, after dinner, unconfessed and unshriven. A little before his death, the Prior of Mount Carmel had leave to grant him in fee the Manor of Ikelington, co. Camb. (C. R. P. 148.)

His body was laid in Westminster, under a tomb of great magnificence.

His biographer, or rather a writer who with slender pretensions aspires to that office, says of his death:

"Mors comitem comitum necuit, mors ipsa cruenta
Ipsa cruore rubrum campum facit et rubicundum."

Cotton. M.S. Clau. A. xiv. Cleop. A. xvi. f. 133 b.

Earl Aymer married, 1st, Beatrix, younger daughter

of Raoul de Clermont, Sire le Nesle, Constable of France (Arch. xxvi, 339), who died *s. p.* 1320, and was buried in the conventual church at Stratford, on the 14th September. Over her body was laid, by the king's order, five pieces of silk, powdered with birds. (Ibid.)

He is said, but upon very weak authority, to have married, secondly, a daughter of the Earl of Barr, who died *s. p.* His last marriage was with his kinswoman, Mary, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, endowing her at the church door with £2,000 per annum within the kingdom, being the value of an estate granted him by Edward, at Gloucester, 12th April, 1321, for that purpose. In one of the entries he is called Lord of Weisford and Montignac. This was the—

“ Sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn
Who wept her bleeding love.”

and who, as chroniclers tell, was maid, wife, and widow in one single day.

She was a lady of wealth and rank, and is said to have brought her husband £500 per annum, charged on the Temple, besides lands in France. She was sixth child of Guy de Chatillon, Comte de St. Paul, who died 6th April, 1317, by Mary (ob. 1st May, 1339), daughter of John, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, and Beatrix, Baroness de Voisser, daughter of Henry III of England. (Anselm, vi, 94, 106. Madox, H. of E., i, 319. Dyer's Camb., ii. 94.

Mary devoted her great wealth and her sixty-five years of widowhood to works of piety. She was foundress of Pembroke College, and of Denny Nunnery, co. Cambridge, established “for her own weal, as Countess of Pembroke, Lady of Weysford and Montignac, and the weal of her husband, father and mother.”

The king lost no time in asserting his rights, for (1 Ed. III) Edward conceded to Roger, son of Roger de Mortimer, her “Maritagium,” together with certain forfeitures due to the crown, should she marry without

license. (C. R. P., 101.) In this year also she executed a release to Edward III., attested by Walter de Stowe, afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer. (Fœd. ii, 698.)

5 Ed. III. John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond, had licence to grant to the Countess, his niece, for her life, his Castles of Richmond and Bowes, and all the Manor of the Earldom in England, she resigning to the king all the goods, chattels, jewels, arms, etc., left by Earl Aymer. (C. R. P., 112, 116.) It appears by the royal confirmation of this grant, 7th Nov., 1333, 7 Ed. III, that woods and advowsons were excepted, and that the Countess was to pay to Earl John, who had licence to reside abroad, £1,800 per annum. The Earl died a few months later, 8 Ed. III, *s. p.*, and was succeeded by his nephew. (Peerage Dig. Rep., ii, 109. Reg. Hon. de Richmond, 177.)

9 Ed. III. She acquired the rights of Philippa, wife of Anselm Guise, and a co-heir of Sir John Mowbray, to the Lordship of Tours in Vienne, which three years later she secured in fee. 2 Ed. III, she had a grant of Strode, co. Kent, for life. (C. R. P., 121, 130.)

15 Ed. III. She had leave to pass in mortmain, Denny Manor, co. Camb., to the Abbess and Nuns of Waterbeche, called (25 Ed. III) Denney Abbey (C. R. P., 141, 160). The grant by the Countess to the king, of the advowson of Denny Abbey, was lodged in the exchequer 11th Dec., 36 Ed. III. (Kal. of Exch., i, 194.) She afterwards had Strode in fee with the Temple privileges and exemptions from toll, pontage, passage, pavage and murage throughout the kingdom. (Ibid. 144.)

20 Ed. III. The king waived in her favour his right to Repindon, co. Derby, and Wissendine, co. Rutland, part of John de Baliol's lands, and gave her permission to found a Carthusian House at Horne, co. Surrey, and to place in mortmain the advowson of Santhorp, co. Norf.; and in the following year she had licence to found a House of Scholars in Cambridge, for a Custos and thirty or more scholars, which (32 Ed. III)

is called *Aula de Valenciæ Mariæ*, and where a silver cup given by her is said still to be preserved. (C. R. P., 152-3-5, 168.)

Her will bears date 13th Mar., 1376, at Braxted, in Essex. She directed her body to be buried at Denny, and bequeathed to Westminster Abbey, where her husband was buried, a cross with a golden foot, and an emerald brought by William de Valence from Palestine. John Knyvett, Chancellor, was one of her executors. (Test. Vetust., 100.)

She probably died 1. R. II. By various inquisitions she seems to have held the Manors of Foxley, Santhorp, Bergh, Filby, Hoderiston, Hocham, and Kerbroke, co. Norff.; Ixening, co. Suff.; Pyriton, Herts.; Bransstead, Fordham, Redeswell, Hassingbroke, and Wallbury, co. Essex; Melton, Ludesdon, Hertley, and Wikham, co. Kent; Swindon-Valence, Wilts.; Shrivenham, Berks.; Donington, Bucks.; Downham with its Soke, Notts; and in Wales St. Florence and Castle-Martin, besides certain Yorkshire manors, which were settled in reversion upon John Lord Darcy, who, however, died before her, 30 Ed. III. She also held, jointly with the Earl of Athol, who died 49 Ed. III, four whole fees, and eight parts of fees. In Suffolk she held, also, eleven whole and three parts of fees, and three advowsons in Norfolk. She had a distinct return, five whole fees and three portions in Norfolk, six fees and two parts in Suffolk. (Dugd. i, 372, 778.) Her inquisition gives her thirty-one Manors in Norfolk and Suffolk. (I. p. m. iii, 10.)

She also held in Ireland the manors of Roselare and Carrick with the advowson of the free Chapel of St. Nicholas, rents in the boroughs of Ballymascullin and Weysford, eighty acres in Athert, and Ferns Castle, with one-third of the manor. (Ibid. iii, 62.)

A chronicle in the British Museum (Harl. M.S., 6217) says: "The 17th day of April died the Lady Mary of St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, a woman of singular example for yet living so to the honour of God and glory of her house, so in relieving poor men's necessities, she spent

her goods, that unto the Dukes themselves she showed examples of good works, and dying, she gave all her substance either for her servants that waited on her, or to divers churches, or to poor folk ; for unto the church of St. Alban's she gave a certain image of silver, and gilded with gold, of St. Vincent, which holdeth in its hands a certain shew, wherein is contained one bone of the same blessed Martyr, and singular relics of all the martyrs and confessors, to whose honour they were made, where she had obtained the benefit of her prayer."

Her armorial bearings were "*Gules*, three piles *vair*, a chief, *or*, over all a label of three points, *azure*. (Anselm, vi, 94.)

The inquisition taken on the death of Earl Aymer gives a list of 631 distinct places in which he had lands. Among them are the Castle, Commote, and town of Pembroke, with members; the Castles and towns of Tenby and Haverford; the Castles of Abergavenny and Goderich; the Commotes of Coedrath, Ostrelow, with a water-mill and £19 rents, and Caermarthen, with its courts; the Church and rents of Rhoscrowther; the Manor of St. Florence, Castle-Martin, and Tregair, within the liberties of Over-Went; the Grange of Kingswood with a messuage; two carucates of land; five acres of meadow; two acres of pasture, and Pembroke Ferry; the hills of Corston, with 46s. 8d. rents; of Angelo, with 18s.; and of Luna, with 20d. Also lands in Kingsdown, Stokholm, Skalingeye, Middleholm an island, with 55s. rent of pasture; Ismael, with £11 7s. rent, and a water-mill; Kameros, with 103s. 1d., and the same; Pelkham, with 64s. 4d.; and Lewelston, with 64s. rent, and with each a fulling mill. (I. p. m., i, 313).

The Earl left no issue, and with him terminated a name made notorious by his father, but illustrated by himself. His Pembrokeshire estates, and a claim to the revival of the honours passed to John de Hastings, the representative of his elder sister and co-heir, Isabel. His heirs were declared to be the said John, and Joan, and Elizabeth Comyn, the descendants of his two sisters

Isabel and Joan de Valence, the only two who left issue. (Bridges North., i, 273.)

The Earl sealed with "barry of six, an orle of nine martlets." Above the shield is a wheatsheaf, and on either side of it a sprig of foliage with a bird, looking towards the centre. Legend, "Sigill. Adomari de Valence." (Arch. xxi, 203, and orig. seal.)

The practice of the adoption, by retainers, of arms derived from their feudal chief, is exemplified in the Barons Fitzwilliam, who served with De Valence at Caerlaverock, and were ancestors of the Lords of Greystock. They bore: Barry of twelve, *argent* and *azure*, three chaplets, *gules*;—the chaplets being substituted for the orle of martlets. And again, the Blencowes, retainers of the Lords of Greystock, bore after them, *sable*, a bend closetted *azure* between three chaplets *gules*.

The monument of Earl Aymer is one of the finest in Westminster Abbey. The effigy, armed in mail and robed in a surcoat, has the hands uplifted in prayer, and the feet upon a couchant lion. The surcoat is striped barry, as the arms. Over the effigy is a richly-carved canopy surmounted by a medallion in relief representing the Earl on horseback fully armed. Around the altar which bears the effigy are, or were, the following shields:

1. Millmond.—A half shield bearing checky *or* and *azure*, a border.

2. Valence, impaling St. Paul.

3. *Or* a lion rampant *sable*, debruised of a bend *azure*, impaling *azure* a chief *or*, a label of two points *azure*.

4. The same, impaling St. Paul.

5. France old.

6. France old, impaling Bretagne, checky *or* and *azure*, a border and canton *gules*.

7. Hastings.—*Or* a maunch *gules*.

8. Strathbolgie.—*Or* a pale *sable*, impaling five cinque-foils *or*.

9. Munchensy.

All the impaled coats are dimidiated.

Upon the death of Earl Aymer his heirs were the children of his two sisters Isabel and Joan. Those of Isabel, by John de Hastings, revived the earldom, and will be noticed accordingly; those of Joan may conveniently be mentioned here.¹

Joan de Valence, who seems to have died before her brother, married John Comyn, of Badenoch, who was dirked by Bruce in 1306; and had, by him, John Comyn, who died childless; David, who died young; and two daughters, co-heirs, Elizabeth and Joan.

Elizabeth Comyn was twenty-six years of age (18-19 Ed. II), and was found by inquest one of the three heirs of Earl Aymer, and as such she seems to have had half of her mother's moiety of the estates. 18 Ed. II the king assigned to her the manors, in Oxfordshire, of Bampton, with a rent of £65 14s. 2d.; in Gloucestershire, of Painswick, £59 16s. 8d.; Moreton Valence, £28 18s. 8d.; and Whaddon, £12 6s. 3d. In the Marches, Goderich Castle, £12 0s. 12d. In Wilts, Colingburn-Valence, £22 11s. 1d. In Herts, Hertingfordbury, £201 6s. 3d. In Bucks, Policote, £17 7s. 8d. In Kent, Swaynscamp, £38 0s. 12d.

Also of the dower lands of Countess Maria, in reversion, the manors in Wilts of Swindon-Valence, yielding £20 2s. 1d. In Berks, Donyngton, £4, and two parts of Shrivenham, £33 7s. 5d. In Bucks, Hartwell, £54 5s. 7d. In Suffolk, Ixning, £36 10s. 7d. In Kent, Milton, £14 15s. 9d., with other reversions. In Cambridge, Ikington, 115s. 1d., held by John Wolaston. In Berks, lands in Farnham, 100s., held by Richard Simon, both for life (Abb. R. O. i, 278); being, as would appear, a present rental of £277 12s. 9d., with reversions of £173 16s. 6d. more. Most of these were very old estates. Hartwell came from the Giffards (Lipscomb, ii, 310); Painswick, from Fitz-Payne; Goderich from the Clares and Marescals; and Swaynscamp from Munchensy.

Of Painswick and Goderich Castle Elizabeth was de-

¹ Plac. de Q. W., 66, makes Hastings marry Margaret, and Comyn Alice de Valence.

spoiled by Despenser the younger, who seized her at her house at Kennington, by London, and detained her above a year, until she consented to the wrong. (Blore's Rutland, 203.)

Elizabeth Comyn married Richard Talbot, an adherent of the party of Thomas of Lancaster, and taken with him at Borough Bridge in 1322. He was called in her right of Goderich Castle, where he resided (Collins, ii, 28). He was great grandson of Gilbert Talbot, who married Gwenllian of Wales, and who was, in 1260, governor of the king's Castles of Grosmond, Skenfrith, and Blanchminster (Foss. ii, 481).

6 Ed. III, Richard and Elizabeth Talbot granted to the Countess Maria a relaxation of their claims upon the late Earl's foreign lordships, and, 10 Ed. III, they had a negotiation with the crown about the castle and manor of Goderich (C. R. P., 115-125).

Lord Richard was a supporter of Baliol's claims, and on his success he recovered his wife's share of the Valence grants in Scotland. 20 Ed. III he founded Flanesford Priory, in Goderich Lordship, and 21-22 Ed. III, had licence for a prison in the castle.

22 Ed. III, it was proved before an inquisition, co. Surrey, that Painswick, Castle-Goderich, Milton, and Swaynescamp had been wrested from Elizabeth Comyn by the threats of the two Despensers (Rudder Glouc., 505. C. R. P., 157), and they were restored to her. She had also cognizance of the Crown and other pleas in Irchenfield and Wormlow manors, co. Hereford.

Talbot survived his wife and re-married Perine le Boteler 26 Ed. III (Collins).

He died 23rd Oct., 30 Ed. III, leaving, by Elizabeth, Gilbert, Lord Talbot, aged twenty-four. On the death of Mary de St. Paul, 51 Ed. III, 1376, Gilbert Talbot was found to be her kinsman and heir, but a part of her dower estates passed to the Earl of Pembroke (Hasted, i, 454). Gilbert died 24th April, 10 Rd. II, leaving Richard, Lord Talbot at twenty-six, who, 15 Rd. II, was found a cousin and co-heir of the last Hastings,

Earl of Pembroke, in virtue of their common descent from William de Valence. He died 7th Sept., 20 Rd. II. His second son and eventual heir was the first and great Earl of Shrewsbury, whose title of Earl of Wexford was intended to mark his Mareschal descent.

His descendent, Gilbert, sixth Earl, bore the titles of Comyn of Badenoch, Valence, and Munchensy. The old manors of Huntley, Badgeworth, Painswick, Moreton-Valence, Whaddon, Shrivenham, etc., remained in the Talbots until the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of the seventh Earl, with Henry de Grey, Earl of Kent, when they passed by settlement, though she had no children, into that family, who were also heirs general of Valence. The Greys seem to have valued the connexion, since they took, in 1700, the title of Goderich, of Goderich Castle, which has again been revived, and is borne by their worthy descendent Earl de Grey and Ripon.

Joan Comyn, the other co-heir, had large estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Herts, Lincoln, and Northumberland (Doug. Peerage, i, 133-4). She married David de Strathbolgi, eleventh Earl of Athol, before 4 Ed. III, in which year Earl David, and Joan his wife, had the Castle and manor of Odegh, in Ireland, as Mareschal property. The earl was great-grandson of the eighth Earl of Athol, by Ada, daughter of David de Hastings, seventh Earl, and had issue, David, twelfth earl, who died 10th Nov. 1375, at forty-three, having had livery of his part of the Valence estate (C. R. P., 107); 1 Rd. II a joint inquisition was held upon him and the Countess Dowager of Pembroke (I. p. m., iii, 10-11).

David, twelfth earl, died 1375, leaving Elizabeth and Philippa his daughters, co-heirs. Elizabeth married first, Sir Thomas Percy; and second, Sir John Scrope.

Philippa married first, Sir Ralph Percy; and second, Sir John Halsham, by whom she left issue. (Doug. Peer. Blomf. Norf., iv, 30.)

G. T. CLARK.

THE CROSSES OF WALES.

WALES is rich in crosses of various dates, from some of the very earliest down to those of the period immediately antecedent to the Reformation. These monuments are not remarkable for their elaborateness or their architectural beauty, so much as for their simplicity, their originality, and in some instances for their rude execution. Some of the more important among them have been described and illustrated in our *Journal* by Professor Westwood;—and it is to be hoped that he will find time, in the intervals of his academical duties, to give the Association a complete work on the subject. The present paper is intended merely as a sketch of some subsidiary and minor portions of this class of antiquarian remains, and as intended to bring to the notice of members various examples, which, from the remoteness of their localities are little known, and might, indeed, be easily passed over.

It would seem that the earliest form of cross in Wales, —we mean crosses for church-yard purposes, is—that of a simple stone, bearing the sacred symbol, and various ornaments on one or more of its faces. Stones of this kind are to be found, varying from the smallest dimension and the greatest simplicity, to elaborately worked slabs. Similar variety is to be found in Ireland, Cornwall, Scotland, Brittany, and other countries; and the observation is of no further value than as showing that Wales is not singular in the characteristics of this class of monuments. One of the earliest forms is believed to be that of the equal armed or Greek cross, generally within a circle; later on in the middle ages, the cross with unequal arms, or Latin cross, is found: but then more than one stone was employed, and the cross assumed the same form as the ordinary churchyard cross, on a base of several steps, which formerly existed in almost all the churchyards of the island.

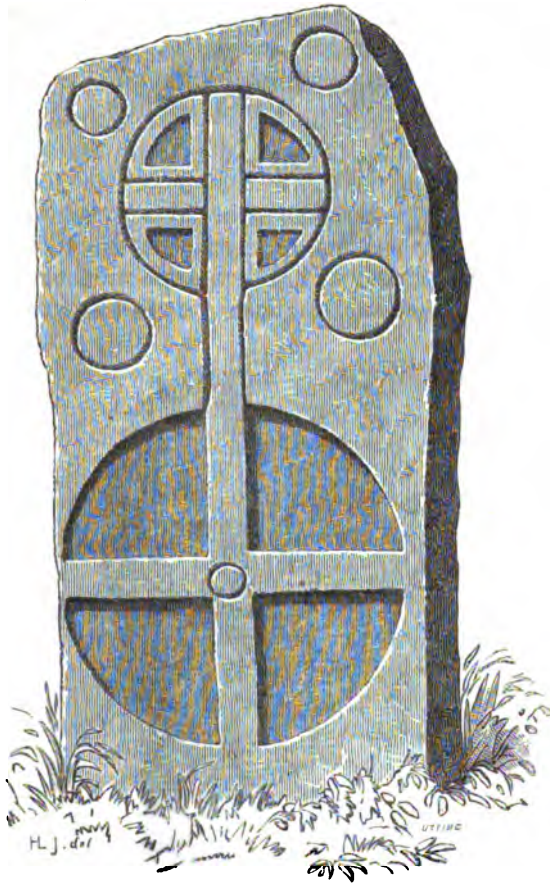
We have no means of approximating to the date of these early crosses, except by analogy, and by induction from the character of the ornaments they bear; but there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition, that some of them may date back as far as the early inscribed stones of Wales, and may have existed from as early a period as the sixth or seventh century. This is a point, the determining of which depends on extensive observation and comparison; and it is one which can well be entrusted by the Association to the learning of Professor Westwood.

LLANSPYDDID, BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

The churchyard of LlanSpyddid, two miles south-west from Brecon, is well known, not only for its beautiful situation on the banks of the Usk, but also for its encircling corona of immense yew-trees, thirteen in number, some of the finest in Wales. The solemn and yet soothing effect of this perpetual verdure and shade is indescribably attractive: whoever has seen it will not readily forget this lovely spot. The church, as it now stands, is of the fifteenth century, with insertions of the sixteenth, not possessing much architectural merit, but still worthy of illustration in the pages of our Journal.

On the south side of the building, in the middle of the graveyard, is to be seen the head of a crossed stone emerging from the ground, as will be observed in the engraving here given. It is said to have been formerly seven or eight feet high; but it was broken, and the upper fragment is alone preserved. It is not, therefore, possible to say whether any inscription existed on it; but, from the analogy of other stones of the same kind in this county, it is probable that there was. It will be remarked that it consists of two crossed circles, one above the other; the upper one surrounded by four small circles, and the lower one having a still smaller one at the intersection of the limbs. Probably the lower cross was intended to commemorate the ecclesiastical character of the personage it referred to, *if it*

was inscribed at all; or else, if it was intended merely as a churchyard cross, to indicate its consecrated purpose. The upper cross may have been meant as a



Llanapyddid, Brecknockshire.

symbol of the crucifixion, and the four circles in the corners, with the lower one, may have represented the five wounds of the Saviour, such as is the case with the five circular holes in the crossed stone at Strata Florida. Popularly the stone is called the cross of Brychan Brycheiniog,—a famous chief of early Welsh

history ; but the grounds of attaching this name to it are uncertain. The church is under the invocation of St. Cadog, said to have been one of the sons of that personage, and hence, probably, the application of the name. It is certainly of early date ; but Welsh crosses have not been sufficiently studied to allow as yet of any very precise approximation as to the time of erection.

PENPRISK, PEMBROKESHIRE.

This cross is principally remarkable for the rude manner in which the enclosing circle has been formed, if, indeed, the flattening of the lower portion of the circle has not been made on purpose. It is hard to conceive



Penprisk, Pembrokeshire.

why an imperfect circle should have been traced ; and it may almost be suspected, that some ornamentation

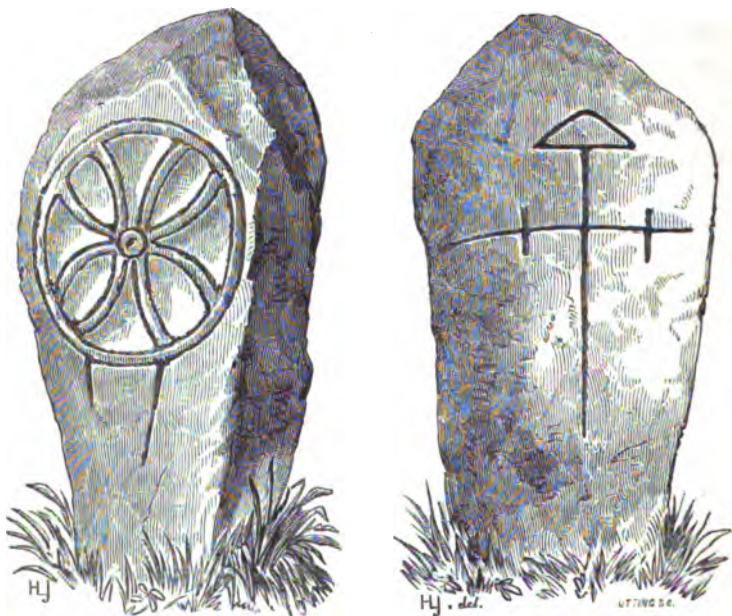
was intended to occupy the lower part of the stone, though never effected, or else totally obliterated. This may possibly have been the case, as will be seen from the history of the stone, and from the circumstance, that round the head of this stone, and down each side,—not shown in the annexed engraving, runs a well-formed scroll pattern, almost classic or Greek in the purity of its curves, but so exceedingly faint that it can be detected better by the finger than the eye. The back of the stone is quite plain, but the cross on its face is also greatly worn down by weathering or bad usage, and, though made plain in the engraving, yet to an inexperienced observer it is decypherable only with very great difficulty. It is the most worn of any cross that we have yet met with.

We are indebted for the recovery of this stone to the indefatigable activity of the Rev. J. H. Vincent, of St. Dogmael's, who himself heard of it in an unexpected manner. Immediately after the Cardigan meeting of our Association in 1859, we accompanied that gentleman to the farm where it had been seen, but no more satisfactory intelligence of it could be obtained than that possibly a round stone, let into a newly built wall, formed the end of it. After the lapse of a year, special application was made to the occupying tenant, and he, with the most liberal and kindly feeling, actually went to the expense and trouble of taking down the wall in order to gratify our curiosity. It was a matter of no small congratulation that we found the stone thus pointed out, whereof no more than one end had been previously visible, to be the very one we were in search of. Since then proper precaution has been taken to secure this relic of past times, so fortunately recovered, and we now present its features, carefully delineated, to the Association.

CAPEL COLMAN, PEMBROKESHIRE.

In a hedge-row, about one hundred yards south from the tower of the new church of Capel Colman, near Car-

digan, stands a stone still bearing the name of “Maen ar Golman”—“*The Stone upon Colman.*” It is a tradition on the spot, that this stone was removed, during the cold-hearted times of the last century, to its present position; and we hope that it is now, or shortly will be, restored to the precincts of the sacred enclosure from whence it was unjustifiably taken. On the front of the stone is a cross of the same style and date as that at Clydai, a neighbouring parish,—figured in a recent number of our Journal; but, unlike that, it bears no inscription nor any Oghamic characters: it is an equal-armed cross, in a circle, slightly ornamented, and nothing more.



Capel Colman, Pembrokeshire.

On the back of the stone is the singular combination of marks which will be observed in the annexed engraving. In the absence of any more plausible conjecture, we offer this: that the central cross-stroke, surmounted by a triangle, is emblematic of the Saviour and of the Trinity; but what the side strokes or curves

represent, we will not attempt to say, although the symbolical representation of the crucifixion on Mount Calvary, where *three crosses* were erected, naturally suggests itself.

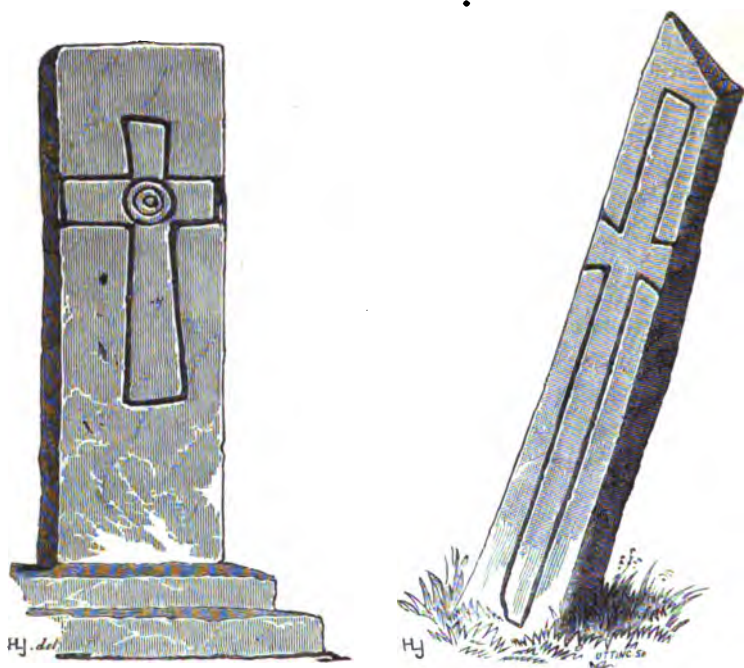
We are inclined to accept the local tradition, that this stone stood over the body of St. Colman ; at least there is no striking improbability in it. He was a saint who flourished in Ireland during the fifth century, according to Professor Rees (*Welsh Saints*, p. 190) ; and as there was, no doubt, much intercommunication between this part of Wales and that country at an early period, we look on the occurrence of his name in two parishes of Pembrokeshire (Llangolman and Capel Colman) as affording an additional proof of the connection which then existed. Not that we think this cross to be of so early a date as the fifth century,—we do not consider it earlier than the tenth ; but it was possibly put up long after his decease, in the grave-yard of the small chapel which marked the saint's eremitical abode and final resting place ; a commemorative stone and nothing more.

PONT FAEN, PEMBROKESHIRE.

In the church-yard of Pont Faen, near Fishguard, by the south side of the ruined church, with its three stone altars still remaining within the abandoned walls, and its font open to all the birds of heaven, are the two crossed stones illustrated in our pages. One of them constitutes the eastern gate-post of the south wall of the church-yard ; it is about four feet high ; the other is a long thin stone, more than seven feet high, in the middle of the churchyard, leaning greatly to one side : each of them without inscription or Oghams, and with no other marks save these rudely formed representations of the sacred symbol.

It may be conjectured that they stood over the graves of ecclesiastical personages ; and from the circumstance of their being unequal-armed, or Latin crosses, we con-

sider them of more recent date than those mentioned above.



Pont Faen, Pembrokeshire.

BOSHERSTON, PEMBROKESHIRE.

The cross in this churchyard stands on a stepped base, and is in excellent preservation. It is on the south side of the church; and is remarkable, not only for its chamferings, but also for the introduction of the head of the Saviour at the intersection of the crosses, a method not uncommon in South Wales, to save the expense of sculpturing the whole figure. We are inclined to assign this monument to some period of the fourteenth century, perhaps the end, judging from the analogy of the church itself, a building of that date, admirably restored by the munificence of the late Earl of Cawdor. It is

an interesting monument, as marking a period of transition between the plain cross or crossed stone of earlier times, and the ornamented cross, with figures and canopied heads, of the fifteenth and following centuries.

H. L. J.



Bosherston, Pembrokeshire.

ANCIENT GAULISH MONEY.

RINGS AND WHEELS.

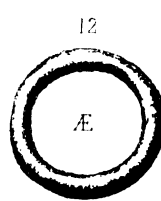
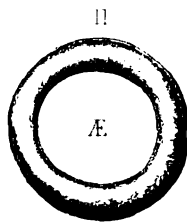
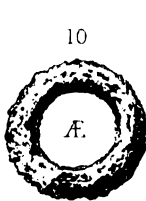
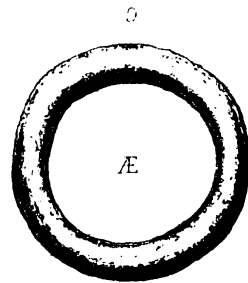
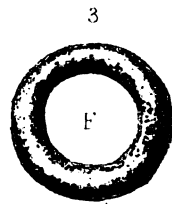
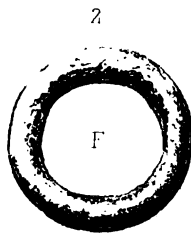
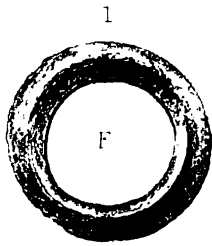
ALTHOUGH, up to the present time, numismatists have not come to any determination as regards certain metallic relics, found more or less thickly scattered over the various divisions of ancient Gaul; yet is remarkable, that relics of this class have hitherto attracted so little attention, or been so carelessly collected and preserved, that collections of any importance generally contain but few specimens.

This circumstance has evidently deprived numismatists of many opportunities of comparing the different varieties of specimens, and has been, in my opinion, the principal reason of the uncertainty which seems to have existed regarding the nature of these pieces; which, however, in spite of this uncertainty, deserve the most careful attention of French numismatists, who will, there is little doubt, find in these curious articles, the earliest specimens of the primitive money of Gaul.

Having lived from childhood in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Boviolles (Meuse), the soil of which district still conceals an enormous quantity of Gaulish money, I have been enabled to examine various specimens of every kind which have been found on the hill, the summit of which was formerly occupied by a Gaulish city, and at present by the above-mentioned village.

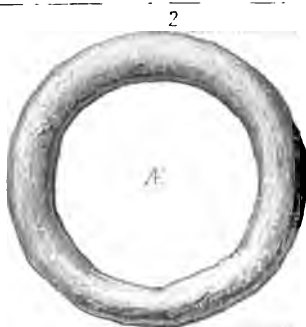
On the slope of the rising ground that overlooks the eastern side of the valley of the Orlain, above the villages of Naix (the ancient Nasium) and Boviolles (*Bovum olla*), have been discovered vast numbers of Gaulish coins, interspersed with metal wheels and rings, the fabrication of which incontestably belongs to the Gaulish city which, as stated, occupied the summit; for on this very spot, within a few years ago, was dug up an original mould in which they had been cast. The enclosure, nearly three thousand yards in circumference, and commanding the south side of Boviolles, is known by the name of Châte, Châtel, or Châtelet, the earthworks of which are tolerably perfect, although the interior space has been long since levelled by the plough.

Besides the wheels mentioned, there have been found small silver pieces, having, on the obverse, a helmeted head, without legend; and on the reverse a horse galloping to the left, with ΚΑΔ, ΚΑΔΤΥ, or ΚΑΔΘΥ, designating the Celtic name of the district, as in other parts of ancient Gaul where we have the names of Solima, Virodu, Mediomia, Remo, Turono, Cabelioni, Bisono; but the

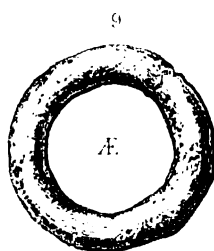
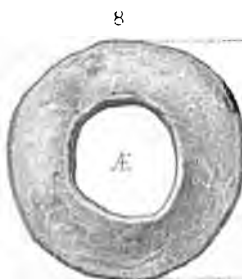


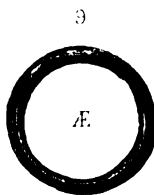
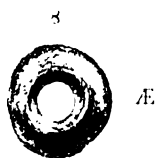
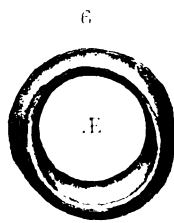
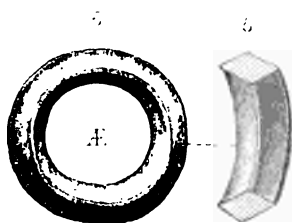
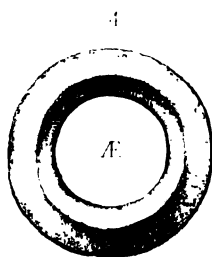
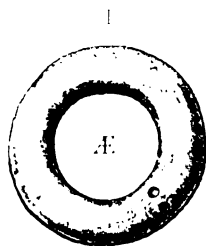


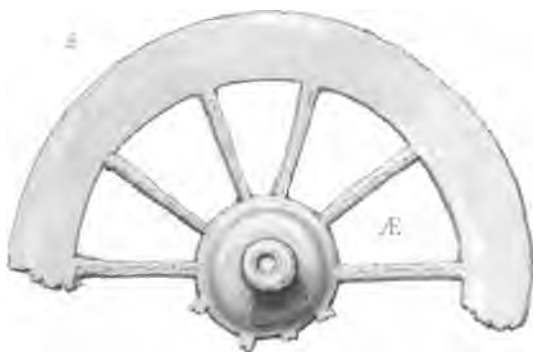
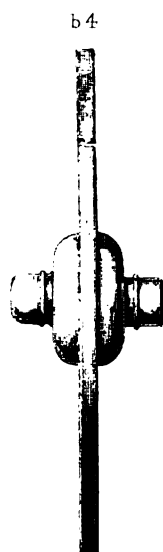
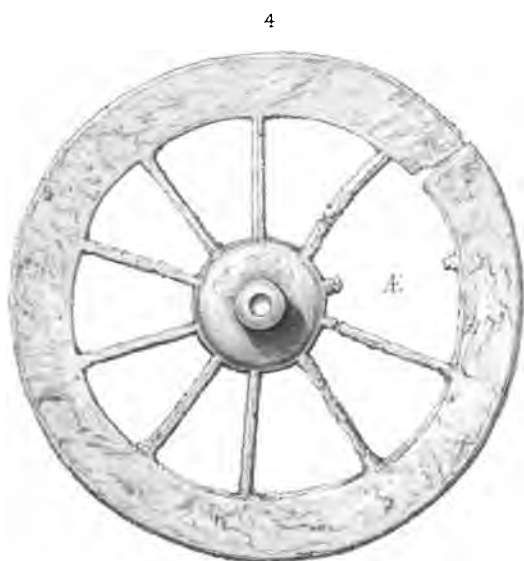
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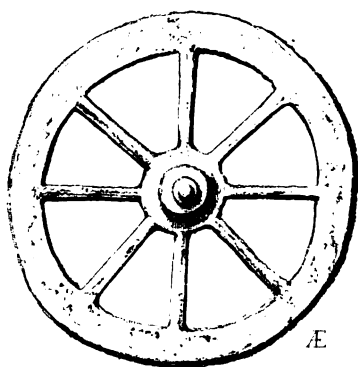
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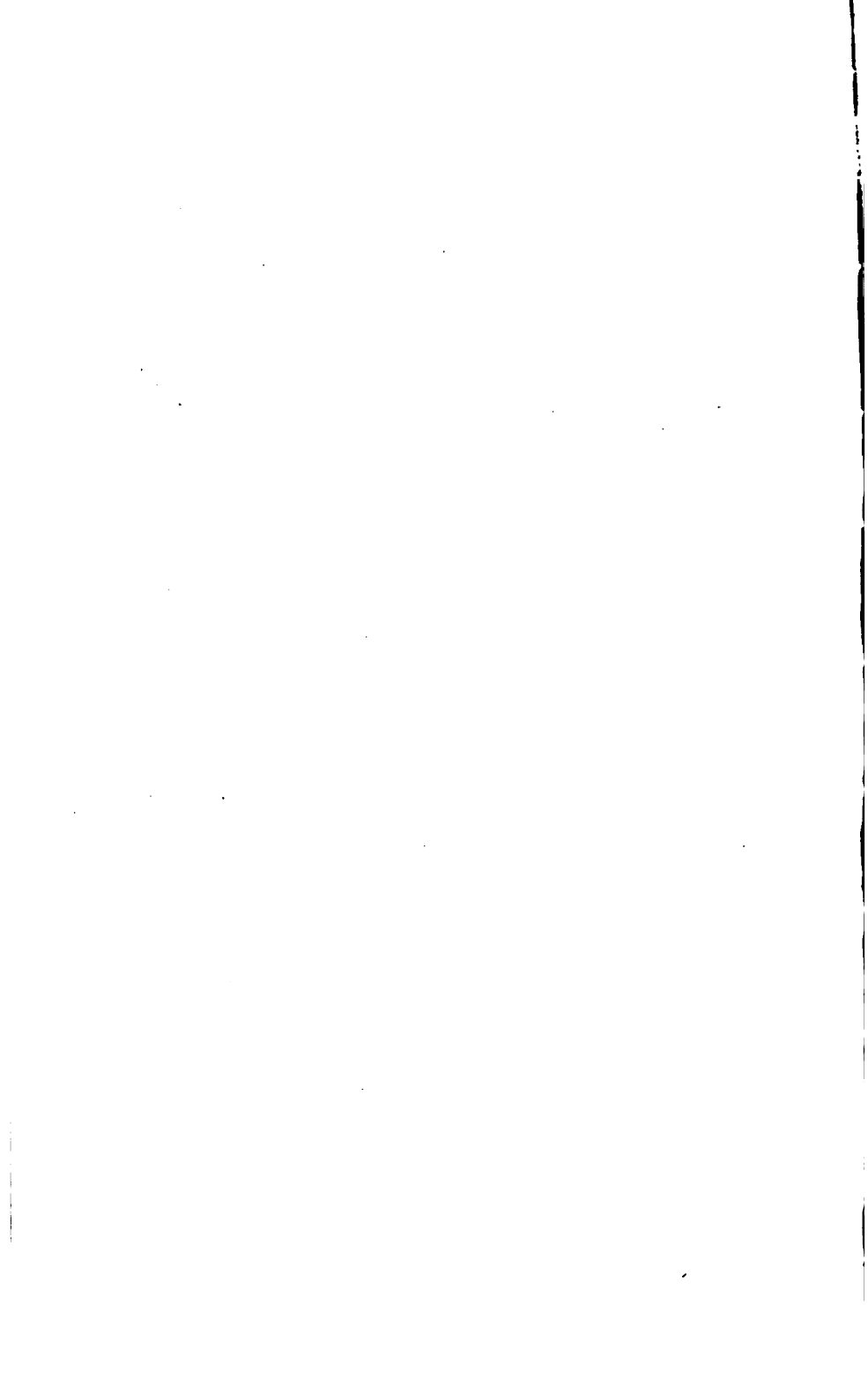


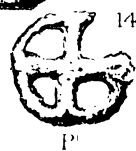
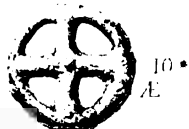
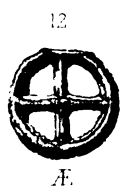
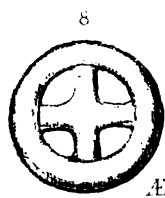
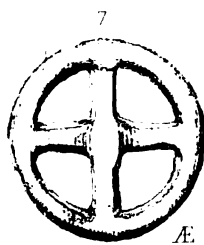
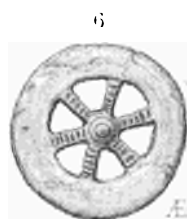
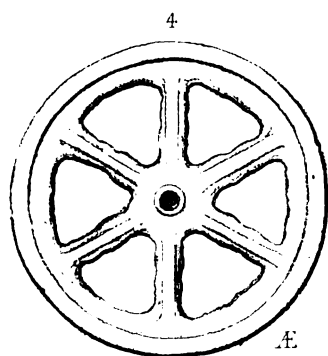
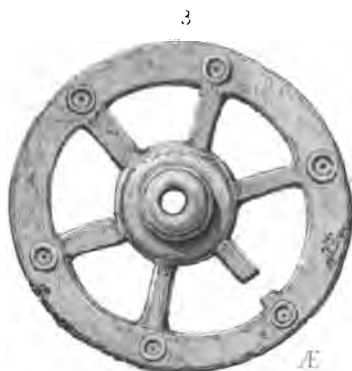
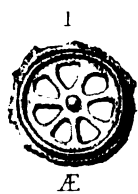
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fact, that at a very remote age, and near Boviolles, once existed a city of the name of ΚΑΑΤΥ, has not yet been noticed by any writer.

ΚΑΑ in the original Gaulish, signifies roundness; ΤΥ, or ΟΥ, a mountain; the two terms thus expressing accurately the configuration of the locality. The Romans having taken this important city, which so completely commanded the valley beneath, formed on its site the present camp to protect the new town of Nasium, founded on the banks of the Ornain about fifty years before the Christian era, and which subsequently became an important place, embellished as it was with a palace, baths, theatre, amphitheatre, etc., the remains of which are still visible.

There are many indications that this city of Caltu, marked out even at present by its fosses, and embankments, and gates (one of which is still known by the name of Hacquin), was one of the last strongholds of Gaulish liberty, for the fosses and mounds abound with the remains of javelins and other weapons, as the surrounding lands do with human relics and Gaulish money.

M. Phulpin, the Curé of Fontaines (Haute Maine), in his notice of excavations made on the Castle hill, near Fontaines (p. 40), says, that he has found rings and little wheels of various sizes, the uses of which he is at a loss to determine. In 1845 I examined these objects in his collection, and found they were of the same kind of relics the nature of which we are now discussing. In the same collection I noticed several small silver pieces, having on the obverse, a helmed head, without legend, and on the reverse a Belgian horse, galloping to the left, with the legends ΚΑΑ, or ΚΑΑΤΥ. As in Gaulish times, there was, no doubt, an active communication between this city or camp near Fontaines, and the city of Caltu already mentioned. These specimens of wheel and ring money, which were fabricated in the latter place, must have found their way to the city near Fontaines by the usual intercourse of commerce, or otherwise. The circulation of this kind of money was not, however, confined to this

district, since it is found in other parts of France, though in very small numbers.

To return, however, to the more immediate subject of this notice. It having been our fortune to have had the opportunity of carefully studying an extensive and probably unique series of rings and wheels, principally the result of excavations in Barrois and Champagne, we have undertaken to publish the result of our researches on this subject, and the deductions we have made from the particular circumstances of their discovery, their weight, and similarity to each other.

As to the genuine antiquity of these pieces, all doubt seems to be removed by the known circumstances under which they have been discovered, as well as by the fact, that they mostly occur in the district of the Leuci, which from the numbers and varieties of wheel money found therein, appears to have been the original locality.

The few observations we are then about to offer regarding these curious articles will, we hope, furnish, if not an undeniable, yet at least a probable proof, that originally they were simply intended for money.

Cæsar (Bell. Gall. v, 12) tells us that the inhabitants of Britain (who were of Gaulish origin) made use of copper money, or iron rings of different weights, which served as money: "Utuntur autem nummo æreo aut falcis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatum pro nummo." Without entering, however, into the controversies that have arisen from the different readings of this celebrated passage in ancient manuscripts, we give an abstract of the following note, taken from the *Numismatic Review* of 1837, p. 72: "If all the various readings are taken into account, they evidently support the opinion of M. de Lagoy. They are as follows:

"Utuntur aut æreo aut taleis ferreis."

"Aut ære aut nummo ære aut aliis ferreis."

"Aut ære aut laminis ferreis."

"Aut nummo æreo aut annulis ferreis."

The Variorum Edition, that of Dr. Bouquet, and of several other editors, have adopted the reading "aut

æreo," which clearly indicates bronze money. The Greek version of the Commentaries shows, that an ancient manuscript read "annulis ferreis," which the translator has rendered by δακτυλίοις σιδηρίνοις, and this reading has been adopted by Mr. Akerman, and most English writers.

The bronze money, regarded as contemporaneous with the invasion of Cæsar, and the "taleæ ferreæ," have been described in several English works, as Combe, *The Pembroke Collection*, Gough's *Camden*. The drawings of the two first appear to be very coarse. Those of the third present us with square pieces pierced in the centre, for the purpose of being strung like the common Chinese money. The wheels described by M. de Saulcy (see p. 169 of the *Revue*, 1836) may have been tied together in the same manner.

We shall, however, notice presently the Gaulish rings found amid ancient ruins by the Viscount de Courteilles, together with the mould in which they were cast. The word "annulis," occurring in some of the readings of this passage in the "Commentaries," would exactly apply to them,—and if it is allowed that these wheels were actual money, they were most probably imitated by the natives of Britain, unless, indeed, they invented them independently of their Gaulish neighbours, for all barbarous nations in their first essays of art proceed in one uniform manner. The question of perfect analogy between the money of Gaul and Britain would be decided, if wheels or rings, similar to those found in our country, were discovered in England; and if we found in France the pierced pieces such as are described as existing in English collections.

According to the great conqueror of Gaul, the use of rings as money is an undoubted historic fact. If, therefore the inhabitants of Britain were enabled to fabricate iron rings, those of Gaul could have done the same both in bronze and iron. Besides which, as the Britons originally came from Gaul, nothing can be more probable than that they brought with them and preserved, at least

some of the customs of their mother country, and among others this of using rings as money, although Cæsar has not made any such statement. This, at least, is the general opinion of most learned men of the day, nor is there, in ours, any valid objection to admitting, that these rings and wheels, originally used as money by the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, have, like the coins of other nations of antiquity, escaped destruction; and are discovered in our own times, in different localities of our own country, which had once been occupied by the Gauls.

While, however, some numismatists regard these remains as the original money of the primitive Celts, others either reject this opinion altogether, or admit it only with certain limitations.

FIRST DIVISION. RINGS.

According to the testimony of Cæsar, we consider the rings the most ancient of these two kinds of primitive money, which we are now discussing; and will, therefore, proceed to state our views regarding this important part of our researches.

It is universally known, that the ancients were in the habit of placing near the dead, at the time of their burial, pieces of money, as passage money for their crossing the Styx, or some other religious purpose. Accordingly, the greater portion of the rings here described, were found in stone coffins and ancient burial places, deposited in small sepulchral earthen vases, as was the case more particularly in the discoveries of 1819 and 1844, at Charmont and Scrupt (Marne), for a notice of which see the *Numismatic Review*, 1846, p. 314; and at Eix, between Verdun and Etain (Meuse), mentioned in the *Journal de Chartres*, of the 24th of March, 1850.

These relics, thus consecrated by religious rites, and which seem so evidently intended for money, were no

doubt considered and recognised as true and actual coins.

One circumstance which seems to prove that these rings were not intended for any other purpose, exists in the fact, that those given in plate II, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and plate III, 1, 2, could not have otherwise been used; for their form does not admit of their being used as ordinary cylindrical rings. Besides which, and we think the fact conclusive, that on two of these rings, which were found in ancient graves, are engraved certain marks characteristic of their use as money. These are No. 4 of plate II, and No. 2 of plate III, one of which has four small roundels, ranged two and two, and the other two only, which marks indicate that the former was double the value of the second, as is also confirmed by their respective weights, one being eleven and the other five-and-a-half grammes. Another circumstance is also to be noticed, namely, that the interior and exterior edges of the rings which we are now discussing, are perfectly fresh and sharp, and show no signs of friction whatsoever, as would necessarily have been the case had they been used to suspend straps or other articles. We have, indeed, in our collection, some rings which appear to have been used in this and other ways, and on all of them are very evident marks of the usage they have undergone.

SECOND DIVISION. PIERCED WHEELS.

What we have already stated about rings, is more especially applicable to wheels, which are certainly not adapted to be used as ordinary rings.

The wheels of which we have given several illustrations, have four, six, eight, or even ten spokes, and have been found, as the above mentioned rings, in tombs and burial places. They appear, in fact, to be a more advanced and elaborate form of the ancient simple ring, such as might have been adopted by a people just emerging from a barbarous condition.

These wheels, which exhibit a certain progress in numismatic art, exist in all known metals of that early period, namely, in gold, silver, bronze, and lead, and have been almost all found on the Castle of Boviollas, on the site of the ancient Caltu, a certain number being found every year. A few years ago, as already stated (p. 217), the moulds used in casting these curious articles, were discovered on the same spot; and as they are hardly ever found in any other part of France, we cannot but conclude that they were originally fabricated at Caltu.

Some numismatists, indeed, have asserted that these wheels were simply amulets, and that they were thus pierced to admit of their being easily fastened as pendants to the neck. Others have considered them as veritable representations of the wheels impressed on Gaulish coins, such wheels being, in fact, only the symbol of the Gaulish chariot. Without stopping to discuss these distinct views, I shall merely remark, that if some see nothing but amulets in this system of money, it will be readily allowed, that any piece of money does not cease to be really money as soon as any virtue or magic power is attributed to it. In the same way, although we have seen many Roman and Gaulish coins drilled with holes for the purpose of being hung to the person as talismans, yet we do not infer from that circumstance that they were not money originally.

The ancient Gauls, in later times, imitating the types they found in use among other nations, frequently adopted the ring and wheel of four or more spokes as significant representations of their original primitive money. Thus, M. de Saulcy has described in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1836, p. 173, a Gaulish piece in bronze or potin, represented in No. 16 of plate III of the *Revue*, which appears to be a kind of transition between pierced and not pierced money ("les monnaies à jours, et les monnaies pleins"). One of the faces of this piece has been completely destroyed, but on the other appears the exact representation of a little wheel of four spokes, like those so frequently found at Caltu.

To satisfy oneself on this point, it will be sufficient to examine with care the various types given in Lelewel's work. Thus, for example, among those which are figured in his *Atlas of the Gaulish type*, and which are numbered as Rings :—

- Plate 1. Fig. 16, gold.
 2. Figs. 4, 6, silver.
 3. Figs. 11, 47, 48, 51, silver.
 4. Figs. 42, 43, 46, silver. Figs. 5, 8, 28, 34, 55, 56, 58, bronze.
 5. Fig 2, silver. Fig. 15, bronze.
 6. Fig. 2, gold. Figs. 13, 14, 16, 26, silver. Figs. 40, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, bronze.
 7. Figs. 41, 44, 70, 72, 75, bronze.
 8. Figs. 8, 37, 42, gold. Figs. 19, 30, 31, 32, silver. Figs. 13, 59, bronze.
 9. Figs. 5, 43, silver. Figs. 12, 13, 25, 26, 27, 32, 44, 45, 52, bronze.

WHEELS.

- Plate 1. Fig. 8, bronze.
 2. Fig. 10, gold. Fig. 5, silver. Fig. 34, potin.
 3. Figs. 24, 38, gold. Figs. 1, 2, silver.
 4. Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, gold. Fig. 44, silver.
 5. Figs. 1, 5, silver.
 6. Fig. 4, gold. Figs. 13, 22, silver. Fig. 52, bronze.
 7. Figs. 20, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, silver. Figs. 52-54, bronze.
 8. Figs. 17, 18, 39, 51, gold. Fig. 1, silver.

From these examples it is clear, that the small rings and pierced wheels of four or more spokes are here figured as representing the more primitive type, for the rings and wheels are placed sometimes on the legs of the horse, and sometimes above the horse, both on the obverse and reverse. In Nos. 20 and 27 of the seventh plate of the same work, they are figured on the helmet

of the head on the obverse. When, on the contrary, these little wheels represent the symbol of the Gaulish chariot, they occur in the place where the chariot ought to be, that is, behind the horse, as may be seen in the following examples from Lelewel's atlas :

Plate 2. Figs. 10, 11, 14, gold. Figs. 21, 23, silver.

3. Fig. 20, gold.

4. Fig. 9, bronze.

5. Fig. 4, gold.

6. Figs. 33, 34, bronze.

7. Fig. 6, gold.

8. Fig. 28, gold.

During the month of April, 1860, three landowners of the Commune of Boviollles, working on their fields situated within the limits of the ancient castle, separately discovered each a small deposit of money ; a circumstance of importance to numismatists, as furnishing one more proof, that like the rings, the wheels of several radii in gold, silver, bronze, or lead, which have been exhumed from time to time for so many years from this ancient site, are really the primitive and peculiar money of those Gauls who occupied the district depending on Belgic Gaul.

These discoveries consisted, first, of twenty-five bronze wheels, of eight spokes, of the size of Nos. 1 and 2 of plate 5 ; being a little more than an inch and half in diameter, and weighing fifteen grammes.

Secondly, the half of a large bronze wheel, of ten spokes, similar to No. 4, plate 4, and having a diameter of nearly three inches. The third discovery consisted of a great number of little bronze wheels of four spokes, but of various dimensions. Among them was found one of lead.

Each of these small dépôts had been concealed in a hole apparently dug for the purpose of concealing them from the rapacity of the Roman soldiers. As soon as I heard of the discovery, I lost no time in ascertaining the nature of the objects, hoping to find them still in the pos-

session of the discoverers, and intending to make a careful analysis and drawing of them ; but unfortunately they were dispersed among various persons by the time of my arrival, so that I could only procure one wheel of eight spokes, and the leaden one of four spokes already alluded to. A gentleman of Bar-le-Duc had also, though with great difficulty, procured a wheel of eight spokes, which will be found No. 1, plate 5. The remainder had been dispersed too far to be within my reach.

The finding of these small monetary deposits, buried so many ages on the site of the Gaulish Caltu, furnishes one more argument, confirming what I have previously stated, namely, that these wheels were simply Gaulish money.

In conclusion, it is of importance to state that these rings and wheels are anterior in age to the Roman occupation, since they are to this day discovered amid the ruins of Caltu, which was taken and sacked by the Romans as already stated ; while from the same site there have been found but very few specimens of Roman money, as compared with Gaulish, although the conquerors seemed to have occupied the camp, which they built on the site of the Gaulish city, for so long a period.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE I.—IRON RINGS.

1. Ring with triangular section, found 1856, in the Castle of Boviolles. Weight, 12.15 grammes.

2. Found, 1857, at St. Etienne-au-Temple (Marne), in an ancient sepulchre. Weight, 6.20 grammes.

3. Ditto. Weight, 5.50 grammes.

No. 1 is in the collection of M. le Comte de Widranges. Nos. 2 and 3 in that of M. Bénard de Sermaize (Marne). The rapid oxidation of iron will account for our finding but few specimens of iron rings, though we do and have frequently found oxidised fragments of such rings in places of sepulture.

RINGS IN LEAD.

4. Ring, having eight projections on each side. 9.50 grammes.

5. Ditto, having five projections, with an ornamental pattern between them and on the inner circle. 8.50 grammes.

6. Similar to No. 4, which, with 5 and 6, are in the collection of M. Bénard de Sermaize.

7. Similar also to No. 4. M. de Widranges.

RINGS IN BRONZE; SECTION CYLINDRICAL.

8. Ring (cast), found 1819, in ancient sepultures between Nettancourt (Meuse) and the old Abbey of Montiers, situated in the district of Charmont (Marne). M. Bénard. Weight, 16 grammes.

9. Ditto, found at Haudainville (Meuse) in a tomb (en forme d'auge de pierre) enclosing bones, arms, buckler, girdles. Société philomatique de Verdun. Its weight, 11.15 grammes.¹

10. Ditto, found 1854, at Boviollles Castle. 7 grammes. M. Bénard.

11. Ditto, from the same locality as No. 8, and in the same collection. 4.40.

12. Ditto, from Boviollles Castle. 4.40 grammes. Le Comte de Widranges.

13. Ditto, from same locality, found 1854. 2.70 grammes. Ditto.

14. Ditto, ditto, 1855. 1.90 gramme. Ditto.

PLATE II.—RINGS IN BRONZE; SECTION LENTICULAR.

1. Ring, cast and subsequently polished; found in 1819, in the same locality as No. 8, plate I. 15.5 grammes.

2. Similar to the preceding, and from the same locality. 13 ditto.

3. Similar, and from the same locality. Ditto.

4. Similar, and from the same locality. Found 1819.

The above four are in the collection of M. Bénard.

5. Similar, in the collection of M. le Comte de Widranges.

6. Similar, found in 1848, in a Gaulish tomb at Berchères-les-Pierres (Eure et Loire); marked on each of its faces with four pellets. Chartres Museum. These three each weigh 11 grammes.

7. Similar, found in 1819, in the same locality as No. 8, plate I. Weight, 10 grammes.

8. Similar. Weight, 10 grammes.

9. Similar. Weight, 6 grammes. These three are from the same locality, and are in the collection of M. Bénard.

¹ The description of this tomb points to the Merovingian æra rather than of early Gaul. EDITOR.

PLATE III.

1. Cast, and subsequently polished, found, 1848, in a Gaulish tomb at Berchères-les-Pierres (Eure and Loire), and marked on each face with two points. Museum Chartres. Weight 5.50 grammes.

2. Similar, found in 1819, in the locality of No. 8, plate I. M. Bénard. 5 grammes.

SECTION TRIANGULAR.

3. Cast, but not polished. Found, 1855, in an ancient grave at Eix, near Verdun. In cabinet of M. Felix Liénard of Verdun. 31.50 grammes.

4. Same as last. Found in 1849, on the estate of Biencourt (Meuse), at a spot called "A la Justice," about 1,000 yards from the Roman road, in an ancient tomb, enclosing an urn of dark grey pottery, an iron spear-head or arrow-head of the same material, a pair of scissors, similar to the common shears, several sword blades, and metal plate of a belt. M. F. Lienard. 17.15 grammes.

5. Found, in 1853, at Boviolles Castle (M. Bénard). 9.50 grammes.

6. Found, in 1854, on same site (M. le Comte de Widranges). 8.70 grammes.

7. Found in 1819, in the same locality as No. 8, plate I. (M. Bénard). 8 grammes.

8. Found, in 1852, at Boviolles Castle (M. Bénard). 3.10 grammes.

9. Found, in 1858, at ditto (M. le Comte de Widranges). 80 grammes.

10. Ditto, ditto (M. Bénard). 30 grammes.

PLATE IV.—WHEELS IN GOLD.

1. This wheel is of very pure gold, plain on both sides, with six spokes, unequal spaces between them. In the centre is a hemispherical knob or button, with considerable projection on both sides. The open spaces seem to have been first cut with a chisel or other tool out of a flat piece of gold, and to have been subsequently worked up with a file or some hard stone. This rare piece, in the fine collection of M. Bénard, was discovered at Boviolles Castle, in September, 1845. Its weight is 4 grammes, and diameter 668th of an inch. This curious numismatic monument is not the only one found on this site, for the late M. Denis, a distinguished numismatist of Commercy (Meuse) in his

work on Montsec mountain, published in 1844, says (p. 51), that he had seen two gold wheels in the possession of M. Sollier (since dead), goldsmith of Ligny (Meuse), which came from Boviollles. In 1816 or 1817 I saw two wheels of the same character, belonging to M. Sollier, which were no doubt those spoken of by M. Denis. Unfortunately, at that time little attention was paid to numismatics, so that these, as well as many other pieces, both Gaulish and Roman, have found their way to the melting pot, with a great number of other coins (Gaulish and Roman), of the same metal, found at the Châtel and Nasium.

2. Wheel of pure gold, cast, and of eight spokes, striated; having a central hemispherical projection on each side. A circle (perlé) ornaments the centre of the rim on each surface. Its weight is 2 grammes.

This elegant specimen, no less rare than curious, is in the Museum of Epinal, chief town of the department of Vosges, but I do not know where it was found. It is a little more than half an inch in diameter, and weighs 2 grammes.

3. A silver wheel of four unequal spokes; both its sides are quite plain, and present no appearance of being cast. The central cross has evidently been cut out, and afterwards soldered to the piece. Its weight is 1.70 grammes.

This rare piece, in the collection of M. le Comte de Fiennes of Bar-le-Duc, was found at Fains, near Bar-le-Duc (Meuse), amid some ancient substructures. On the hill which commands the village is an ancient camp, in a perfect state. It is of the same diameter as No. 2 of this plate.

This is the sole example of this kind discovered in our country, and appears to have been much used, and to have lost some of its original weight. See *Revue Numismatique*, 1836, p. 169.

BRONZE. WHEELS OF TEN SPOKES.

4. Cast, but subsequently polished down with a file or stone, having ten spokes, one of which has been damaged. It has its axle perforated, which, as is seen by the profile given (4, bis) is very prominent.

This rare piece, found, in 1852, at Boviollles Castle, and the property of M. Bénard, is the largest example I have yet seen. Its diameter is 2.678 inches, and its weight 54 grammes.

5. Half of a similar wheel, six spokes only remaining, with scanty remains of the other four. The axle is perforated, and of considerable projection. It was discovered, in 1860, on the same site as the preceding, No. 4, but I do not know in what collection it is at present.

PLATE V.—WHEELS OF EIGHT SPOKES.

1. Wheel, cast, and subsequently polished, as No. 4, of plate IV, with eight equal spokes. Its axle is tolerably projecting, and is terminated on each surface by a circular knob, which is perforated, the perforation, however, not extending completely through. It was found, 1860, on the same site as Nos. 4 and 5 of Plate IV, and so many others, namely Boviolles Castle, and made part of a small treasure, which was probably buried in the earth at the time of the Roman invasion, as we have already suggested. Its diameter is 1.653 inch, and weight 15 grammes. On its surface, otherwise plain, are seen three slightly projecting fillets. It is in the collection of M. Bellot-Herment, of Bar-le-Duc.

2. Similarly cast and subsequently polished as the preceding, having eight equal spokes, and its axle formed by a flat projection on both sides. It was found in 1860, with many others in the same locality as the preceding, and like it, probably formed part of the treasures concealed by the Gauls, when attacked by the Romans. It is of the same dimension and weight as No. 1. It will be seen by the engraving that the axle is surmounted by a hemispherical knob. The owner is M. le Comte de Widranges.

3. Cast and polished as the preceding, having eight unequal spokes, and its axle perforated. Found in 1849, on the same site as preceding. Its diameter is 1.57 inch, and weighs 14.60 grammes.

4. Cast and polished as preceding, having eight spokes, almost equal, and its axle terminated by a knob similar to No. 2, but of much greater projection. A correct idea of its projection is given in the figure 4, bis. Its diameter is 1.647 of an inch, and its weight, 14 grammes.

It was discovered in 1850, and on the same site, and though slightly less in weight than No. 3, exceeds it a little in diameter. On reference to the plate, it will be seen that this specimen is not exactly circular. Nos. 3 and 4 are in the collection of M. Bénard.

No. 5. This wheel was intended to have been provided with eight equal spokes, but in the casting, two of the spokes seem to have failed. Its axle is formed by a tolerable projecting boss, which is only partially perforated. This piece is now in the collection of M. le Comte de Widranges, and weighs 10.50 grammes, was found, in 1856, at Boviolles Castle. Its diameter is 1.73 inch, and if perfect, it would have weighed 14 grammes.

6. Cast, and subsequently polished; having eight equal spokes, and an axle, surmounted on each surface by a knob of considerable projection. This piece, found on the same site in 1838, forms part of the collection of M. Dufresne, Adocate of the Prefecture in Metz. Its weight is 11.10 grammes.

PLATE VI.—WHEELS OF SEVEN SPOKES.

1. Small wheel, from the same locality, having seven spokes, bearing the traces of the mould in which it was cast. The axle is formed of a small knob, of slight projection. Two fillets ornament the face. The diameter is 6.29 of an inch, and weight, 1.30 gramme. It is in the collection of the late M. Clouet, of Verdun. No other similar specimen is known, as far as I am aware.

WHEELS OF SIX SPOKES.

2. Cast, and badly polished; having six equal spokes, and at its centre a circular knob projecting on each side. This piece which is remarkably thick, has a diameter of 1.181 inch, and weight of 29.50 grammes. It was found at Boviolles Castle, in 1850, and is in the collection of M. Bénard. M. Phulpin, the Curé of Fontaines sur Marne, had, in 1845, a similar specimen, found on the site of the ancient town near that Commune.

3. Cast, and subsequently worked with a file, etc., as No. 4, plate IV. It has six unequal spokes, one of which is broken, and a perforated projecting axle. Opposite the extremity of each spoke are two small concentric circles, having a small point in their common centre.

This example (rare, from its ornamentation), having a diameter of 1.571 of an inch, and weighing 18 grammes, was found in the same locality in 1850, and is in the collection of M. Bénard.

4. Cast, and subsequently worked as the preceding, but still bearing traces of the mould. Its axle is terminated by a small circular knob, projecting on both faces. Its diameter is 1.414 inch, and weight 9.60 grammes. In the collection of M. Du Fresne, of Metz.

5. Cast, having six spokes, equal and striated, with its axle terminated as the preceding. The surface is ornamented with a circle (perlé). On the upper part a small ring or handle has been subsequently soldered on, for the purpose of suspension to the neck as an amulet. It has a diameter of 7.8 of an inch, and weighs 3.50 grammes. The locality, or circumstances of its being found are not stated. It is in the Museum at Langres.

6. This piece has been cut out of a thin plate of bronze by means of a chisel, and has six spokes, which are ornamented with transverse lines, formed also by a chisel. The axle is formed of a small circular hammered projection. It was found, in 1854, at Boviolles Castle, and is now in the collection of M. le Comte de Widranges. Its diameter is 0.799 of an inch, and its weight only 1.80 gramme.

7. Cast, and afterwards worked with file, etc. It has four spokes, nearly equal, arranged in the form of a cross. This piece, rare from its dimensions, 26 millimetres, or 1.023 of an inch, was found, 1844, in a tomb at Scrapt (Marne), with arms and other objects, and forms part of the collection of M. Bénard.

Its weight is 6.30 grammes.

8. Cast, but not subsequently worked like the others; having four spokes nearly equal, a diameter of 0.787 of an inch, and weighing 4 grammes.

Found at Boviolles Castle in 1854, when it came into the possession of M. Simonnet, of Nancy. From the same locality.

9. Cast, but not subsequently worked; having four spokes nearly equal, and a small projecting button on each surface. Its diameter is the same as the preceding. Its weight 2.60 grammes.

10. Similar to the last (No. 9). The spokes are, however, equal. It still bears traces of the mould. Its diameter slightly exceeds that of No. 9, but its weight is only 1.80 gramme.

11. This specimen, of coarse execution, bears traces of its rude and imperfect casting. It has four spokes, and instead of the usual projecting centre, it has a slightly depressed cavity. Its diameter is 0.707 of an inch, and its weight only 1.60 gramme.

12. Still bears traces of the mould; has four equal spokes and a slight circular projection on each surface at the centre. Its diameter is 0.559 of an inch, and its weight 1.20. This and the three preceding specimens were found at Boviolles Castle, and are in the collection of M. Bénard.

LEADEN WHEELS.

13. This wheel in lead has its outer edges serrated or otherwise indented. The four equal spokes have also their surfaces striated. Its diameter is 0.7467 inch, and its weight 1.18. It was found at Boviolles in 1857, with others in bronze, which came into possession of M. Simonnet, dealer in coins, of Nancy, who demanded too high a price for it. It has a small central projection.

14. Also in lead, very much oxidized; having four unequal spokes, and has no central projection. Its diameter is 0.628 of an inch, and its weight is 1.10 gramme. It was found in

Boviolles Castle at the same time as the eight-spoked wheels in bronze, and a large number of small wheels with spokes, as already mentioned. It is in the collection of M. le Comte de Widranges.

There are in the cabinets of MM. Guillet of Nancy, Bellot Hermant and Jervais, of Bar-le-Duc, and Clouet of Verdun, and of other numismatists of the neighbouring departments, a great many other specimens of the little four-spoked wheels, similar to the one represented at No. 12, plate 6. I also have had in my own possession a considerable number which I have given away or exchanged with collectors, but which offer little or no difference as to weight and size.

A great number of these small wheels are also in the cabinet of M. Duquenel, at Rheims, but I have not examined them so as to be able to state anything about their weight or dimensions. In 1845 M. Phulpin, Curé of Fontaines-sur-Marne, had also two lead wheels in his possession; one found by himself in the Châtel of Fontaines, the other purchased at Boviolles, which have, no doubt, together with a large quantity of bronze ones, been sold and dispersed. All these, however, were obtained either from the ancient works of Boviolles or Fontaine.

DE WIDRANGES, CTE.

Bar-le-Duc,
March 12, 1861.

LETTERS OF EDWARD LHWYD.

(*From Hearne's Collections, Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.*)

S^a,—I suppose you have heard that Mr. Caswell is at last elected: however, this comes, according to what you desired me, to acquaint you of it. Since it happens thus, the sooner we conferr interest the better; so if you please either to meet me immediately, with any friends, at Tom Gibbons's in High Street, or to appoint any place of meeting this evening, send word by the bearer to

Your assured friend and humble servant,

EDW. LHWYD (*sic*).

For Mr. Hearn at the Library.

(*From Tanner's Collection, Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.*)

Feb. 14. Sunday, one o'clock.

S^a.—Having rec^d this letter just now, I thought it best to send it to your hands with all possible speed. I need not desire you to keep it private, nor adde any thing more of the matter ; but y^t I entreat you to send a purpose messenger (if there be no other conveniency) to morrow to Mr. Kennet, with a very earnest letter to deal freely and plainly with you, &c. The answer you receive be pleas'd to leave with Mr. Robert Wyn, y^e bearer, at y^e Museū, and he'll take care to convey it safely to

Y^r most affectionate fr^d and humble serv^t,

EDW. LHWYD.

I would gladly answer Mr. Archer by Tuesday post.

Cowbridge, Glamorgansh. Sept. 25, 1697.

DEAR S^a.—Meeting with this opportunity, I make bold to trouble you with a line or two, tho' I have not time to say much more than "Si vales bene est, ego quidem valeo." This summer's progresse has prov'd (in y^e maign) well enough to my satisfaction ; especially as to Welsh MSS. and materials towards y^e Natural History. You were desiring, I think, at parting y^t I shall give you some account of our Welsh writers. Those few y^t remain of them, you'l find at y^e end of Dr. Davies's Welsh Dictionary ; most of which I have seen in my travails, and can (if that may be acceptable to you) add the persons' names in whose possession they are at present. I have, indeed, some share of them myself ; tho' myne are almost all modern copies, transcribed within these two or three last years.

The inclosd is an old crosse on y^e bank of y^e river Ogwr, at Merthyr Mawr, a small village of this county. The first word I read, Conbelini, y^e same name with Cunobelin, which was y^e Roman way of writing the word we call Kynvelin. But I can proceed no farther than, Conbelini posuit hanc crucem pro animâ ejus. I have sent y^e Vice Chancellor an other stone frō Kaerphilly Castle, for y^e Museum ; but that (I fear me) was more intended for an inscription.

I am, S^r, yours heartily whilst

E. LHWYD.

My humble service to Mr. Flemming, Mr. Hutchenson, Mr. Elstob, Mr. Kennet, &c.

I forgot to deliver you y^r MS. you lent me ; but 'tis safe enough. Pray favour me with two or three lines by y^e bearer,

directed to be left with Mr. Llewelyn, Schoolmaster, at Swansea, Glamsh. I sent Mr. Williams of y^e Museum a Latin translation of our orders to be printed, which I desire you to look over and correct before they be put in the presse.

Swansey, Oct. 20, '97.

DEAR SIR,—I have but just time to return you thanks for your kind letter, and to assure you you may freely command me in anything wherein I may serve you. I intend, in my own work, some such account of y^e Welsh writers as you propose; but y^t shall not hinder me from contributing my mite to so general a design. I presume 'twill be time enough to send it you about Christmasse, when I am settled in my winter quarters. My account will be very defective, in regard I cannot have recourse to Hengwrt study; which, tho' they say 't has been much rifld, is still incomparably y^e best in Wales.

The carrier y^t brought my last will be again in Oxford as soon as this comes to your hand. Mr. Gibson tells me Swall has disposed of all Mr. Nicholson's books in y^e large paper, but has given him one in y^e small. If it may be done conveniently, I wish you would take up one from his correspondent, H. Clement, and send by the carrier, acquainting Mr. Gibson of it.

My humble respects and thanks to Mr. Tompson. When you see him, pray learn of him who has any Cornish MSS.; and whether he has heard of any manuscript dictionary in that language.

I am (worthy S^r) y^r most obliged and affectionat friend,

EDW. LHWYD.

My service to Robin Lloyd, Mr. Flemming, etc.

For y^e Rev. Mr. Tho. Tanner, Fellow of All Soules College, Oxon.

Abingdon. Post p^d 2^d.

Pembroke, May 20, '98.

DEAR S^a,—Yours of y^e 2nd came to hand, w^{ch} is more than many of my letters doe, for y^e country people are very curious to know whom the spies and conjurors correspond with, and what their intrigues; which has been y^e onely discouragement I met with since I left Oxford; but y^t will now soon be over, for in y^e counties that remain, I and my companion are pretty well known. I am glad y^e catalogue of our manuscripts came

safe, and shall be sure to adde what notes shall occurre this year. No news could be more acceptable than your going to London and Cambridge on so excellent a design. Pray put a little paper book in your left pocket, marked N. L.; and as any *Lhyrau Kymraeg* occurre, think of y^r old friend. I desire you would please to write y^e first and last 4 or 5 words of each treatise, adding the number of leaves (and lines in a page), as also whether a paper or parchment, and a mark where you think them considerably ancient. You may also intermix with them such Latin manuscripts as you may presume usefull in my undertaking, especially any thing not printed, or y^t you suppose corruptly printed. I presume y^e Welsh Manuscripts you'l meet with will be but few, otherwise this would be an unreasonable request; and the Latin relating to our affairs, not many more.

In a note book of Mr. Robt. V^{ns} I find mention of y^e lives of Prince Lhywelyn ab Iorwerth, and David his son, at Benet College, which I wish you may meet with. As also y^e Welsh Annals (in y^e same library), sent Archbishop Parker by the B^p of St. David's, No. 1568. In y^e same place, volume 256, a copy of the Laws of Howel Dha; vol. 364, I. Dicta Merlini Vatis; II. Historia Britonum cujus Author putatur Carad. Lancarvensis.

But I need not trouble you with y^e names of any; so recommending them in general to your care, I add no more than that

I am (worthy S^r) y^r most obliged hearty servant,

EDW. LHWYD.

On y^e first of July I shall be at Mr. Lewes's, vicar of Lhanbedr in Cardigansh. On y^e 20 at Dr. Brewster's, in Hereford. A letter at either of those places would be very comfortable. My service to Mr. Churchill, &c. I shall send Dr. Robinson my Lithology y^e first opportunity, to be printed at London; for he tells me some bookseller has promis'd to venture it: Dr. Lister having given y^e Museum to y^e value of at least 200^{lb} of books, I was in hopes the University would print it; and, indeed, Dr. Adams, Dr. Edwards, and y^e Master of Univ., seemed very inclinable; but y^e present Vice-Chancellor will hear nothing of it, tho' I told him to whom 'twas dedicated, and how great a benefactor he has been. Mr. Williams gave me notice of his receiving Mr. Flemming's third year's subscription. My service and thanks to him when you write.

(In another hand,—“Dr. Hutten's.”)

For y^e Rev. Mr. Thos. Tanner, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxon. Abingdon. Post p^d 2^d

I have sent you this post y^e Catalogue of Welsh Authors so long since promised: w^{ch} I hope will come safe, and franked by Mr. Mansel. Tis nothing so compleat as it might be, but at present I am not capable of supplying you with any better. What I am chiefly concerned at is y^e not seeing S^r Roger Mostyn's collection, w^{ch} by y^e account I hear of it, is next to Hengwrt, y^e most considerable in Wales. Great part of our writings have, without doubt, been long since burnd and destroyd, and many of them of late years; for one M^r Roberts, a clergyman in this countrey, tells me he saw heaps of parchment, books, and rolls burnt at S^t Davids during y^e late civil warrs, and did himself, being then a schoolboy, carry several out of y^e library for the sake of y^e guilt letters, etc. One D^r Gryf. Roberts printed a Welsh Grammar in H. 8. time at Millain, and afterwards in Q. E. time, he and one Smyth publishd some books against the Reformation; now these things I am sure they could never perform without y^e help of some books in that language, so y^e I conclude there were some Welsh books in foreign countrys, and perhaps more than at home. And, indeed, D^r Roberts seems to give some hint of this when he says, in one of his Welsh prefaces: *I am not ignorant of the ancient orthography amongst y^e Britians, being no stranger to their old books on parchment, haverskins, etc.*" I wish M^r Tomson (to whom my hearty respects) or some other friend could procure you a catalogue of y^e Cornish MSS., to be added to this. Old M^r Aubrey used to talk much of one Keigwyn (?) as a diligent collector of Cornish Antiquities, and one who had writ a Dictionary (?), and my friend D^r Robinson informs me *one M^r Antisse the younger, of S^t Neot's, near Lyskeard, hath some ancient Cornish MSS.*; but of these things you are probably already better inform^d from other hands. I have no time to add more at present, but that you had receivd this catalogue sooner had I not depended on a gentleman's promise of y^e perusal of three or four very ancient books, which he was pleased never the lesse afterwards to refuse when I sent a purpose messenger twice to him. As soon as you receive the catalogue a few lines would be very acceptable to

Worthy S^r., your most affectionat Fr^d and humble servant,

E. LLWYD.

Write on your letter: Abingdon, post p^d 2^d.

Let me know how long twill be ere you print this part, because I may have some notes to be sent hereafter. Mr. Williams will get some friend in y^e College to correct y^e sheets as to y^e Welsh, and for y^e Latin you may freely alter any without consulting me. I wish I had two or three copies of y^e sheets to give a poor fr^d or two, who I know will never purchase the book.

REV^d S^a.—The Bearer acquainting me a Bible-Clerk's place will shortly fall vacant, it's my humble request, if it be not already promised, you'd please to bestow it on him. I have often, since you were pleas'd to enter him, enquir'd into his behaviour, and find he has the character of a very endustrious man, and one who seems likely to make good use of the encouragement he receives. You were pleas'd to shew me once a letter from Dr Hicks, wherein he wished some of our country (as having already one small help) might be encourag'd to study the antiquated European languages; the bearer seems not to want capacity or inclination for such a study, and promises, how unprofitable soever it may prove, to attempt the acquiring one or other of them, in case he shall be enabled to continue in the University. What favours you please to bestow on him will be always gratefully remembered by

REV^d S^r, y^r most oblig'd humble servant,

EDW. LHWYD.

Oxon, Sept. 18, 1705.

Ensham, Sat. Morn'.

REV^d S^a.—I receiv'd some time since a letter from Mr. Antis, wherein he writes thus: *Pray when you see Dr Charlet, give him my service and enquire of him, whether he receiv'd the papers which I sent for Mr. Smith, which I am afraid miscarried.* I have been twice in town since, but it happened you were out of town. I had another letter or two from him about consulting two or three of Mr. Wood's books, which, as I have formerly mentioned to you Mr. Tanner says he left with you; one of them was his own "English History," and an other Godwyn "De præsulibus," with Camden's notes, etc. I have been very often teisd about them, because they are in our printed catalogue and yet always wanting. I desire you'd please, if they may be found, to send them to the Museum. I had lately a letter from Dr. Lister, wherein he acquaints me he designs us shortly an other present of books. I return my most humble thanks for your favourable encouragement to the Bearer, which I hope he'll always continue no less sensible of than

Y^r most oblig'd humble servant,

EDW. LHWYD.

This and the preceding letter are addressed to the Reverend Dr Arthur Charlet, Master of University College.

(Endorsed), Mr. Lloyd, Nov. 26, 1706.

Besides S^t John Baptist's Church at Cardiff there was another, and that y^e mother church, dedicated to S^t Mary. It was destroyed in y^e civil wars in Kg. Charles y^e 1st time. There is very little more than y^e east wall now remaining, and that is in no likelihood of standing long, since y^e river Taff has encroached so far into y^e church yard as to run close by it. I was inform'd y^t Taff's current was not by this churchyard till y^e church was destroy'd. They bury here now those who choose to lie by their ancestors. [There are two or three churches nigh Cardigan w^{ch} have such a steeple and bells as are at Binsey, in Oxfordshire.]

I was inform'd y^t y^e people of Rhysky,* in Monmouthshire, are y^e jest of the Welsh, as y^e men of Goathan, of y^e English, and several such stories are told of 'em; They are commonly called y^e *Fools of Rhysky*.*

To Mr. Hearne, to be left at Mr. Johnson's, Manciple of Edmund Hall, Oxford.

* "I'm not sure this is spelt right."

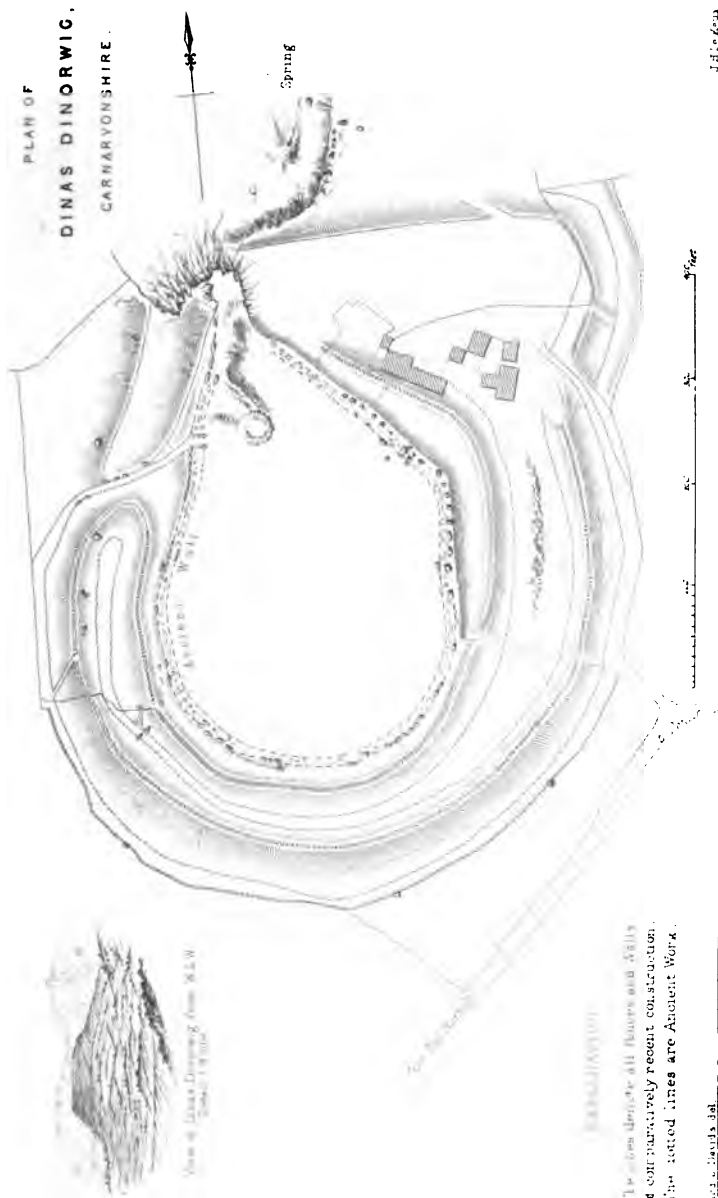
ON ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE VALLEY OF LLAN- BERIS, CAERNARVONSHIRE;

WITH A FEW REMARKS ON THE LINE OF THE ROMAN
ROAD FROM CONOVIVM TO SEGONTIUM.

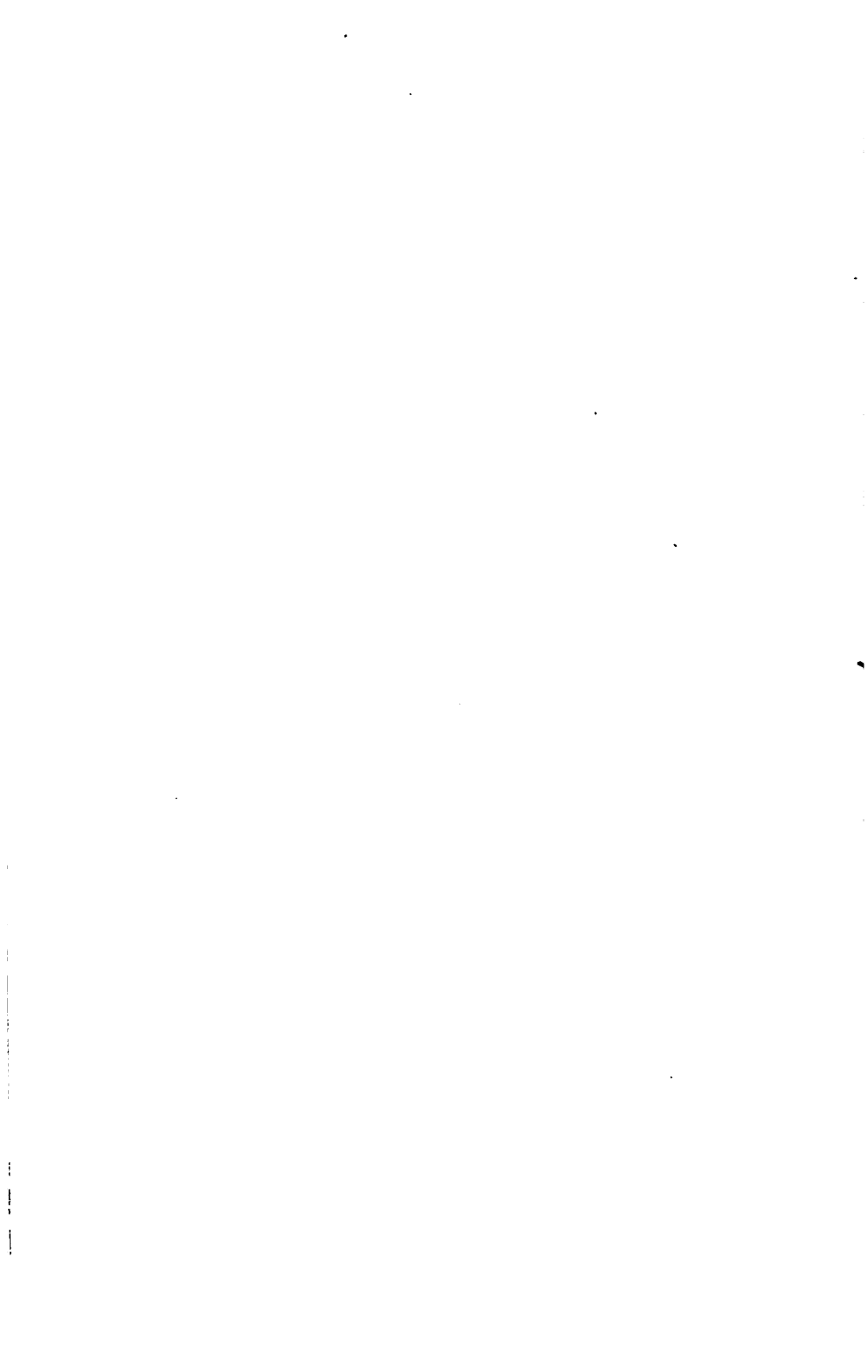
It has often surprised me that many of the members of our Association do not remain some short time in the districts where our annual meetings are held, in order both to examine the country for its picturesque beauty, and also to study those antiquities which are necessarily excluded from the excursions. Much good might result from such a quiet examination of them as cannot be made when a large party is assembled.

After the meeting at Bangor, I spent some weeks in

PLAN OF
DINAS DINORWIG,
CARNARVONSHIRE.



The plan shows the plan of the walls and the plan of the buildings as they are at present. The dotted lines are Ancient Works.



the valley of Llanberis, with the botanical riches of which I was well acquainted. Although the main object of my stay in that country was scientific, yet I found time carefully to examine such ancient works as are noticed on the Ordnance Map. In a former paper in the *Arch. Camb.* (ser. III, vol. ii, p. 56), I gave a short account of the walled fort called *Caer-carreg-y-fran*; which was illustrated more fully by Mr. Longueville Jones in the succeeding number. Having now examined other ancient works in that neighbourhood, and finding them to possess considerable interest, I venture to send this notice to our Journal.

The works, which I visited in 1860, are now called *Dinas Dinorwig*, *Llys Dinorwig*, *Dinas Mawr*, and a "Camp,"—all within two miles of the outlet of *Llyn Padarn*; also a "Dinas" upon a spur of the mountain above *Dolbadarn*.

Dinas Dinorwig is situated near to the church of *Llanddeiniolen*. It has been exceedingly strong, and occupies the top of a slight hill, the sides of which are partially precipitous, and in most parts rise rather abruptly. It commands an extensive view in all directions, and must therefore have been a post of considerable consequence at the early period when it was erected. Its form is oblong, corresponding nearly to the shape of the hill. There are two deep trenches, so formed that their inner banks are much higher than their outer; and within them there is a slight ditch having again within it, and upon the level top of the hill, a wall or rather bank of loose stones, which was once, and is still partially, supported by large stones set upon edge. The outer bank does not quite surround the fort,—nor, indeed, do any of the others,—because the form of the ground is such that in one part no artificial defence was requisite. Some portion of this bank seems to have been recently removed. The second bank is high externally, and has a few large stones placed against it. The third is very high externally; has now no trace of supporting stones, and probably never had any. The

second and third banks surround very nearly the whole fort ; a small space, bounded by precipitous rock, being alone excepted. The internal bank, or wall of rather small loose stones, is placed just upon the edge of the top of the hill, and is separated from the third bank of earth by a narrow and shallow ditch. Its thickness is now determined with difficulty, and may perhaps have been somewhat irregular. Many of its supporting stones remain ; all, except a few near the gateway, on its external side. Some seem to have been quite recently removed for the purpose of building a new farmhouse and offices adjoining, and, indeed, within the outer defence of the fort, two have been used for what the slate miners call "cannons", but seem fortunately not to have been injured. The size of these stones varies greatly : some of them are very large.

A modern entrance has been made at the southern end of the enclosure ; but the ancient approach was in the northern part. How it entered the outer ditch does not clearly appear ; but its passage from thence to the interior of the fort is very marked. It was perfectly commanded, in every part, by the adjoining works. The passage through the stone bank forms a regular gateway bounded by large upright stones, of which several remain upon each side.

The ground sinks abruptly at the northern end, where a projecting rocky mound forms an exceedingly strong post. Below this mound there is a spring, which was enclosed by a slight outwork supported in parts by large stones. Towards the north-east, the outer rampart may, perhaps, never have existed ; and between the second and third banks there is a considerable interval, in which the farm buildings are now placed. The extreme length within the inner defences is about 133 yards, and the breadth about 80 yards.

It seems probable that this is a very ancient work. We know that many cromlechs were covered with small stones like those forming the inner rampart of this fort, and also that they were often surrounded externally by

large stones placed upon edge, in the same manner as those supporting the inner bank of this fort and bounding its entrance. How far this defence may have been continuously bounded by such stones, we know not; but the continuous series of them found in several places, renders it probable that they once everywhere existed. There can be no doubt that many of them have been removed. That this is not a work of the same date as that upon Pen-Maen-Mawr is nearly certain; for that grand structure is formed in a totally different manner. It and the small fort called Caer-carreg-y-fran, situated on the opposite side of the river, above Cwm-y-Glo, are formed of well-built vertical walls of horizontal uncemented stones, without any trace of earthworks or upright slabs. Nor could I find any of the circular foundations of huts at Dinas Dinorwig, such as exist in both of the forts just mentioned.

In the *Transactions* of one of the Cornish societies, Sir Gardner Wilkinson has published an exceedingly interesting and elaborate account of Carnbrae, an extensive hill-fort in that county. There the entrances seem to have been formed in a similar way to those of Dinas Dinorwig; and apparently walls of loose stones, supported in a like manner, exist. It includes many other highly curious ancient works of a very early period. That paper is accompanied by an accurate map of the antiquities upon a large scale. The editor of our *Archæologia* hoped to have been able to present an abridged account of Carnbrae to our readers; but unfortunately the map was produced by lithography, and had been removed from the stone before application was made for its use.

It may be allowed to take advantage of this occasion to direct attention to another excellent paper from the pen of the same eminent antiquary, published in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association for 1860, "On the Rock-Basins of Dartmoor, and some British Remains in England." He treats especially about the avenues of stones, stone-circles, and cromlechs,

found abundantly near together, and apparently forming parts of one plan, in several places on Dartmoor. He compares them with the avenue and circles at Stanton Drew, in Somersetshire; others which once existed at Abury, in Wiltshire; the remarkable remains at Arbe Low in Derbyshire, and elsewhere. He also describes and figures the singular rings carved upon stones at several places in the north of England. I cannot properly do more than refer to this paper on the present occasion, and do so in the hope of thus directing the attention of Welsh antiquaries to it.

Begging pardon for this digression, I return to my especial subject. Llys Dinorwig is a small hillock shewing manifest signs of ancient occupation, but having nothing to point out its use. One side seems to have been defended by an earthwork, of which the greater part is removed. On its north side there is a piece of old wall, which may have formed part of a mediæval house; but it possesses no architectural features to shew its date, although it is certainly very far more modern than the earthwork which it adjoins. Possibly this spot had nothing to do with the ancient chief named Dinorwig or Orwig, whoever he may have been, and was only named from its situation in this district. It is said to have been a country residence of one of the Welsh princes.

Dinas Mawr is a rocky hillock possessing now no trace of artificial defences. It is naturally very strong, and was probably a look-out post, being placed just above the Afon Rothell; commanding the fords of that river, and having an extensive view over the country.

The "Camp" near to it is laid down as square by the ordnance surveyors. It is very faintly marked, and, indeed, scarcely traceable.

The Dinas above Dolbadarn is situated upon a projecting point of the hill connected by a lower neck with the adjoining mountain. There is a very small piece of wall remaining, which is quite similar to that upon Pen-Maen-Mawr, and very characteristic of that kind

of dry masonry. Within the space which must have formed this small fort, there are no remains of buildings; but upon the neck above mentioned, and just below the fort, there is a considerable heap of stones, within which are manifest traces of several small chambers. Their roofs and most part of their walls have fallen. It is what the Irish antiquaries call a "cashell," and differs from the circular huts by the rooms having been angular, communicating with each other, and several in the same structure.

At about a mile and a half to the east of Dinas Dinorwig, a spot named "Castell" on the Ordnance Map, consists of a moderately large flat-topped mound having a gradual ascending road winding partly round it. I suspect that it is chiefly a natural elevation altered so as to afford a site for a small fort or stockade.

Thus far we have considered these places as if they had never been other than British or Welsh posts; and that they really were originally British, will not, I think, be denied. But it is highly probable that the Romans used one or more of them, not so much to keep the country in subjection, as to defend the course of their road from Chester to Caernarvon. This road has now been traced with tolerable certainty from *Caer Rhun* (*Conovium*), on the river *Conway*, over the pass of *Bwlch y ddenfaen*, where the two stones remain, from which its name is derived, one fallen, and the other still erect. Although in many parts this line is a mere grass-grown track,—sometimes little more than a ditch,—yet all through its length, as far as *Aber*, there are undoubted evidences of its Roman origin. From *Aber*, it is believed that it occupied the site of the old line of road, now a mere country lane, which skirts the hills as far as *Llanllechid*. It is probable that the road then crossed the *Ogwen*—a difficult river to ford in most parts, and subject to sudden and violent floods—by a wooden bridge somewhere near *Coetmor* bridge. Between that spot and *Pentir* a careful examination of the ground is requisite to ascertain if any trace of a

road exists; or rather, it is only a very small part of the space between Coetmor bridge and Pen y ffrid that requires especial study; for from the latter place, by Pentir and Dinas Dinorwig, and thence along the north side of the river Seiont to Segontium, there are lanes existing which probably occupy almost exactly its site. Mr. Longueville Jones thinks that Rhiw Goch, near Llanllechid, was a military post in some way connected with this road. I visited it some years since, and certainly did not then believe it to be a military work. It is in a very dilapidated state; and, if my memory does not deceive me, consists of a heap of large stones thrown rudely together, but without any ditches or other works of defence.

At about a mile to the west of the Ogwen (marked "Camp" on the Ordnance Map), a little to the north of the probable course of the road, and at about the distance of another mile to the west of this spot, near Pentir, a small mound exists called Tomen Arthur, which Mr. Longueville Jones supposes may indicate the proximity of the road. That gentleman was informed by the late Mr. Foster, of Caernarvon, that some trace of the road might be made out between Llanddeiniolen (that is Dinas Dinorwig) and Caernarvon, in the fields along the ridge just to the north of the present road to Llanberis, between the farms called Cefn and Centre (or Pentre) Seiont. But the whole of this line, much of which rests upon the conjectures of good antiquaries such as Mr. Jones, and the existence of modern lanes, deserves a minute examination.

Following the line of the supposed Roman track to the westward from Dinas Dinorwig for about a mile, we reach a farm called Penrhyn, between which and another farm called Glan yr afon, there is a rudely triangular piece of moory ground, bounded on one side by the river and on the other by the low hills along which the Roman road probably passed. Mr. Longueville Jones, to whom I am indebted for all my information concerning it, states, that it is covered with boulder-stones and

rough bushes; the former probably part of the glacial drift which overspreads much of the country intervening between the mountain chain and the Menai Straits. In this wilderness of stones, six or eight stone circles, from twelve to fifteen, or even twenty feet in internal diameter, may be found. "At the north-east corner of this piece of uncultivated ground, where it slopes upwards a little towards the farm lands, there are several oblong embankments and walls, belonging decidedly to the ancient period, and marking a bod or British farm. There is a small cottage near to this ancient farm." This place seems to have been first noticed by Dr. Wynn Williams, of Caernarvon, who directed Mr. Jones's attention to it. The latter gentleman and the Rev. W. Wynn Williams, jun., examined it carefully in December, 1860.

It is well known that the Romans frequently adopted the ancient British trackways, and either improved them or made new roads, following their direction and only deviating slightly from them. It seems nearly certain that we have such a case before us, and that all these posts, whether they were fortresses, habitations, or tombs, were placed near to the main line of British road through this district long before the Roman occupation of the country.

In conclusion, it is worthy of remark, that near to the above-mentioned farm of Penrhyn, but on the opposite side of the river, and reached from it by a ford, is a house called Tal-sarn, by which a road passes communicating directly with the ancient track leading to Llanberis, by Bryn-bras.

CHARLES C. BABINGTON.

Correspondence.

WELSH ANTIQUARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Archæ. Camb.*

SIR,—I thought that Mr. Clark would have replied to the letter on the above topic in No. XXV of your Journal; but, as he has not done so, I cannot omit pointing out to the notice of Mr. Johnes, that he has greatly mistaken the sense of the passage which he quotes from Mr. Clark's paper. The latter uses the phrase "*that mixture of antiquarian knowledge and good sense, which, etc.*;" the leading noun in this is the word "*mixture*"; this is, therefore, the antecedent to "*which*," and it follows of course, not that either "*antiquarian knowledge*" or "*good sense*" is "*by no means too common on the western bank of the Severn*," but that the "*mixture*" of these excellent qualities is so. Mr. Johnes evidently labours under an error in limiting Mr. Clark's meaning to "*good sense*."

I confess I do not think that Mr. Clark, or any member of our Association, has ever wished to reproach Welshmen with want of hospitality and kindness, of which the learned owner of Dolaucothi is so bright an example. Nor do I suppose that Mr. Clark meant to include all the members of our own Association in the category of those with whom the aforesaid "*mixture, etc.*," is not commonly to be found. I rather suppose that he had in his mind's eye, first of all, some of the antiquaries of the last century, poor old Rowlands of *Mona Antiqua*, Celtic Davies, etc.; and next some of those people of the present day, who usurp the name of patriots, and send forth that egregious nonsense for which Eisteddfodau seems alone remarkable. It might indeed have included other antiquaries besides those of Wales in the same accusation, for it is only of very late days that archæology has been treated according to the laws of common sense in any part of Europe. The great majority of our classical annotators have all written a monstrous quantity of stupid stuff, just as much as the modern *sarans* of many learned societies. What little value is now attached to the theories of Stukeley, the great doctor of Stonehenge celebrity! It is only of late days that the reputation of such a man as Edward Lhwyd has risen, while that of Baxter, his learned friend, has declined; it is quite within the recollection of men now living, that the strict laws of observation and deduction have come to supersede the empiric practices of conjecture and assertion.

One of the chief services rendered by our Association to antiquaries generally, has been the promoting of that scientific method by which only archæology can be made philosophically valuable.

I am, etc.

June 1, 1861.

GWLADGARWR.

ANCIENT QUERNS, OR GRAIN-CRUSHERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Archæ. Camb.*

SIR,—At page 40 of the recently published twenty-fifth number of *Archæ. Camb.* a very remarkable implement is figured, but by some accident no account is given of it in the letter-press. I am induced to notice it because it has been my good fortune recently to obtain a similar implement, although of much ruder manufacture, for the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. I refer to the pair of stones forming a grain-crusher, which was exhibited at our meeting at Bangor as having been “found close together in a wall of the land of Treifan, near the river Braint in Anglesea, and exhibited by the Rev. W. Wynn Williams. Perhaps they did not attract so much attention at that meeting as their interest, variety, and great antiquity deserved. It seems in the highest degree probable, that they form “the most primitive implement used in the manufacture of cereal food.” In the words of Dr. Wilde (*Cat. of Antiq. in Mus. R. I. A.*, p. 104), it was formed of “a flat stone, slightly hollowed upon the upper surface, so as to hold the parched grain, and a convex rubber which was passed backwards and forwards by the hand, and thus crushed the corn into meal.” The Royal Irish Academy possesses four or five of these substitutes for a mill, all apparently much more rude than that figured in the *Archæ. Camb.*, which is, perhaps, one of the latest of its class. The pair of stones discovered at Anglesey Abbey, in the fens of Cambridgeshire, shows no attempt at finish and is in all respects exceedingly rude, although apparently well fitted to perform the service required of it. I have thought it well to direct attention to these very primitive implements for the purpose of exciting the curiosity of Welsh antiquaries, and thereby probably causing the discovery of similar stones in other parts of the principality. I believe that the pair found in Anglesey and those met with in Cambridgeshire, are the only examples of grain-crushers of this type that have been noticed in Great Britain.

I am, etc.

CHARLES C. BABINGTON.

Cambridge, Apr. 29, 1861.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 61.—T. W. is in error in *Query 109*. Owen's map of Wales, correctly stated to be published in 1788 by Johnson, was not "*appended to Powell's 'History of Wales'*" published by Evans in 1774; but to *Warrington's "History,"* published by Johnson, 1788, and before the writer. The Gloucestershire places, Llancaut, St. Briavels, and Caer Glo, are given as Llangan, St. Briafel, and Caerloyw. If this is to be taken as a specimen of the general accuracy, the claims to it are very small indeed.

L. C.

Query 111.—ISOLATED MILITARY TOWERS.—At Brynllys Castle, in Brecknockshire, the circular tower or keep stands on a mound perfectly detached from any other building. No wall seems ever to have been built up to it, much less bonded into it. Is this a solitary instance of a detached tower? Can any similar cases be referred to?

W. B.

Note 62.—LOW TIDES, GLAMORGAN COAST.—At the very low tides which occurred in March last, several stumps of trees and remains of mortar walls, with some bushels of nuts looking quite perfect, were laid bare on a thick clay, where the tide now rises full thirty-five feet over them, in the parish of Llantwit Major.

J. N. C.

Note 63.—COCKPITS.—Two very perfect ones, walled round with sea stone well dressed and tooled, are to be seen on the Boverton estate, near Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, the property of Sir Ivor Guest, Bart.

J. N. C.

Miscellaneous Notices.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES OF COPENHAGEN.
—Continuation of the Report of the Annual Meeting under the presidency of His Majesty King Frederick VII.

On the 12th of September, 1860, His Majesty the King visited the peninsula of Helness, in Funen, in order to inspect the runic stone there detected. At the time of his residence at Lyksborg, in the Danish duchy of Slesvig, on the 11th of September, he went on board his steamer, *The Falcon*, and having passed the night at anchor in the Augustenborg Bay, on the following morning he sailed for Assens, whence ten carriages brought him and his suite to Helness. After having taken a previous view of the place, as also of a cromlech in its

immediate neighbourhood, dating from a much remoter period, and having breakfasted in the open air, on the place where the Runic stone was found, he examined the stone with great care, and ordered a rubbing to be taken of the inscription. He also charged Mr. C. Zeuthen, artist of his suite, with taking a drawing of the stone in its full size. This drawing, having thus a length of nearly seven feet, the inscription on it completely corresponds with that of the rubbing. For the Review and Memoirs of the Society, he then has presented a representation of a smaller size.

Mr. C. C. Rafn has made an attempt to decipher this inscription, which, in a linguistic and palæographic view, is to be considered one of the most remarkable detected in Denmark of late. Dating from a remote antiquity, probably from the eighth or ninth century, it is quite a treasure to runographical knowledge. We here reproduce it in Latin lapidary characters. It runs thus :

RHVULFR SATI STAIN NUB A
GUDI AFT GUDUMUD BRUDUR
SUNU SIN DRUKNADU HAN THAR
OVAIR FADI

or, according to the manner, afterwards introduced by the Icelanders, of writing the old Danish or old northern language : "Hrodulfr (or Hrolfr) setti stein norðr á Gaudi eftir Gudmund, broðursun sinn; druknadi hann þar Överfadi." Rodolf (or Rolf) raised this stone, north on Gauth, after Gudamund, the son of his brother. He was drowned there. Ovaïr carved (the inscription).

We particularly notice the following very interesting ancient forms of words : "Hróulfr," instead of "Hrodulfr" or "Hrolfr"; "sunu," acc. sing. of "sun"; "Gudumund," that is, "Godamund," the gift of the gods, instead of "Gudmund"; "druknadu," third pers. sing. imperf., instead of "druknadi," of the verb "drukna."

This inscription contains several runes peculiar to the earliest runic alphabet, which was brought from Denmark to the British isles by the Anglo-Saxons, and hence at a later period termed the Anglo-Saxons.

"Fa" signifies to paint, to sketch; to be distinguished from "rista," to cut, carve, engrave. In *Hávamál* (the Song of the High One), one of the poems of the old Edda, we read :

Runes shalt thou find,
And readable staves,
Which the arch orator sketched (*fadi*)
And the gods on high gave
And the heavenly herald carved (*reist*).

"Fadi" is here used of the act of preparing or performing the inscription in general, or as a whole, quite in the manner as "markadi."

BRECON PRIORY CHURCH.—The works for the restoration of this grand old building have been begun by Mr. G. G. Scott; and we look forward with great hope to the result. We trust that the sepulchral slabs will be carefully looked to.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, BRECON.—Concurrently with the building of the grammar school connected with this foundation, a subscription has been opened, and liberally supported, for restoring the chapel, one of the best pieces of thirteenth century work remaining in Wales. Messrs. Prichard & Seddon are the architects employed.

LLANBADARN FAWR CHURCH, CARDIGANSHIRE.—It gives us great satisfaction to be able to state that the restoration of this church is now seriously thought of, and that it is warmly promoted by the Bishop of the diocese and the Archdeacon. We have been informed that the work will be entrusted to Mr. G. G. Scott.

LLANDDAROG CHURCH, CARMARTHENSHIRE.—The new church at this place, on the site of the old one, is a thoroughly satisfactory piece of architecture. The construction of the spire is faulty, from the negligence of the contractor; but the most remarkable feature in it is the north side of the Puxley Chapel, against the chancel. In this Mr. R. K. Pensa has succeeded in producing one of the most harmonious and appropriate elevations we ever saw: the execution of it, too, is admirable, and it is an excellent example for all young architects.

LLANEILIAN CHURCH, DENBIGHSHIRE.—This church is rapidly approaching completion. The internal effect is peculiarly satisfactory. The seats are of oak throughout; and it will be a good instance of what can be done by local workmen under proper guidance, and at a very small cost, by non-professional architects.

Reviews.

NORRIS'S CORNISH DRAMA.

WE now come to the second of the three dramas so well edited by Mr. Norris. It is called the *Passio Domini*, and, though the action is limited to time, yet its tragic and poetic interest must have been greater than that of the *Origo Mundi*. In this respect it is similar to the dramas on the same subject now given in some parts of Germany, a vivid account of which has lately appeared in several leading journals of this country; and here our previous remark holds good, that such a drama as this might become popular, even at the present day, if it could be suitably produced before a rustic or not very refined and

hypercritical audience. It is very long, for it exceeds three thousand verses, and it would take several hours to be thoroughly gone through; but we doubt not that many a public would sit it out with patience and indeed with great satisfaction.

The title runs thus: "*Hic incipit passio Domini nostri JHESU CHRISTI*:" and the Saviour opens the drama as follows:

IHC.

thyvgh lanara ' ow dyskyblyon
pyseygh tothyda ' ol kes-colon
dev dreys pup tra ' eys a huhon
theygh yn bys-ma ' y grath danvon
yn dyweth may feugh sylwys 5

gans an eleth yw golow
yn nef agas enefow
neffre a tryg hep ponow
yn ioy na vyth dywythys

th'agan guythe ' ragh map a'n pla 10
agan temptye ' pur feyl a wra
prest yn pup le ' the gul drok tra
ha dynagne ' oberow da
del leuaraf though an guyr

lafurye a wra pup prys 15
Rak dry den the voe dampnys
the ponow ma fe sylwys
henna ol yw y thysyr

yowynk ha lovs ' kyn fo tollys
dre y deunos ' mercy gylwys 20
seon y gallos ' a vyth lehys
mercy yw stoes ' the nep a'n pys
puppenagol a vo ef

pyiadow a luen colon
a wor the voe temptation 25
na vo troplys y enef
ha me a pys ' ragovgh ow thas
may fevgh sylwys ' dre y luen ras
hagh ol kerghys ' dotho th'y wlas
yn ioy a pys ' hep stryf ha kas
yn certain gans an eleth 30

ny yv colon predyry
an tekter asbetheugh why
henna a vyth hep dyweth

JESUS.

To you, I say, ' my disciples,
Pray forthwith, ' all with one heart,
God above all things, ' who is on high,
To you in this world ' to send his grace,
In the end that you may be saved. 5

With the angels there is light;
In heaven your souls
Ever shall dwell without troubles,
In joy that shall not be ended.

To preserve us, ' for the son of evil 10
Us tempt ' very craftily will,
Always in every place, ' to do evil things,
And to reject good works,
As I tell you the truth.

He will labour always 15
To bring man to be damned
To pains, not to be saved;
That is all his desire.

Young and grey, ' though ye be deceived
By his subtilty, ' call for mercy, 20
Soon his power ' shall be lessened;
Mercy is extended ' to whoever prays for it,
Whosoever he may be;

Prayers of a full heart,
To put away temptation, 25
Lest his soul be troubled.
And I pray my Father for you,
That ye be saved ' through his full grace,
And all brought ' to him to his land
In joy, I pray, ' without strif or trouble, 30
Certainly, with the angels.

Heart is not to conceive
The enjoyment you will have;
That will be without end.

The Temptation follows, but all other portions of the Saviour's life and ministry are omitted, and the dramatist proceeds at once to the entry into Jerusalem. The triumphal procession, in which Hebrew boys singing are introduced, is given at some length, and afterwards two of the principal actors come upon the scene:

PILATUS.

me a vyn mos the'n tempel 355
gollohas ragh leuerel
ha pigy war thu iovyn
me a grys bones an gvas

PILATE.

I will go to the temple 355
To speak praise,
And pray to god Jupiter.
I believe it is the fellow,

ihesu ow kul maystri bras
dyswel en fer ef a vyn

360

MERCENARIUS.

heyl syr cayphas episcop stovt
may des ihesu an guas prout
re wruk re maystry yn dre
hagh ef thy'n re leuerys
kyn fe an temple dyewrys
yn tri dyth y'n dreafse

CAIAPHAS.

gow a leuer an iandyn
ef a'n pren re synt iovyn
mar ny thynagh y whethlow
ot an iustys ow tos thy'n
anotho ef greus del vyn
pan glevio y lauarow

PILATUS.

syr cayphas thy's lowane
pan faryng vs y'n temple
gans ihesu an fals brybor
ef re thyswrug an marhas
yma ow kul maystri bras
rak mennas caos enor

CAIAPHAS.

woloom pilat by thys day
ef re wruk mur a theray
dre goth y wruk leuerel
kyn fe dyawrys an temple
yn tri dyth y'n drehafse
bythqueth whet na feve guel

PILATUS.

ef ny wra lemy'n boestye
pup den yn bys-ma a wor
den vythol na'n drehafse
yn try dyth wyth war nep oor
me a vyn y examyne
y threheuel mar a kor
y coth thy'n ol y worthye
kefrys yn tyr hag [yn] mor

Jesus, making great violence :
He will spoil the fair.

360

SHOPKEEPER.

Hail, sir Caiaphas, stout bishop !
Here is come Jesus, the proud fellow,
He has done too much violence in town,
And he hath said to us,
Although the temple were destroyed, 365
In three days he would rebuild it.

CAIAPHAS.

The wilful man tells a lie ;
He shall pay for it, by Saint Jupiter,
If he do not retract his idle tales.
See the magistratè is coming to us ; 370
With him let him do as he will,
When he hears his words.

PILATE.

Sir Caiaphas, joy to thee !
What doings are in the temple
By Jesus, the false hypocrite ? 375
He has destroyed the market :
He is doing great violence,
For he wished to get honour.

CAIAPHAS.

Welcome, Pilate, by this day,
He hath made much tumult ; 380
Through pride he did say,
Though the temple were destroyed,
In three days he would rebuild it :
Never yet was it better.

PILATE.

He will not boast now ; 385
Every man in this world knows,
No man whatever would build it
In three days' work, in any way.
I will examine him :
If he can rebuild it, 390
It behoves us all to honour him,
Also in land and in sea.

We next have the occurrences in the house of Simon the leper, and then the bargaining between Judas Iscariot and the priests. The preparation of the upper chamber for the Last Supper, the Supper itself, the institution of the Eucharist, and the discourses of the Saviour with his Apostles are then introduced by the dramatist in close accordance with the words of Scripture ; and this must have been one of the hardest parts of the drama to work out. We do not quote from it because the peculiarities of the dialect, and the intermixture of other languages with it are not sufficiently striking ; but when, after the Supper, Judas goes to the Priests, we have the following curious intro-

duction of English and French, with a wonderful anachronism in an oath which, however, had occurred previously, and in the mouth of the same personage, Caiaphas :

IUDAS SCARIOTH.

heyl syr epeocp · esos y'th cop
owth ysethe
heil pryns annas · thywhy qammas
mur lowene

CAIAPHAS.

wolcom indas par mon fay
wolcom by maghomys lay
wolcom myl-wyth yn ow hel
lanar lemyr mar syv prys
dannon genes tus arvys
the gerghes an vyl loesel

IUDAS SCARIOTH.

yv syre by godys fo
saw guseytyens pup may tokoo
ganso lorgh py clethe da
ha mowysy gans golow
yn lanterns hep falladow
fysteneugh fast alemma

CAIAPHAS.

benneth maghom re'th fo preest
rak certan lell os ha trest
ha stedfast y'th amboesow
tormentourys wythow rest
comyth hedry lest and mest
lemyn yn ol orthommow

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Hail, sir bishop! · thou art on thy summit
Sitting.
Hail, prince Annas! · may come to you
Great joy.

CAIAPHAS.

935 Welcome, Judas, by my faith,
Welcome, by Mahound's law,
Welcome, a thousand times in my hall.
Say now if it is time
To send armed men with thee
940 To bring the vile knave. 940

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

It is, sir, by God's faith;
But let every one take care that he bring
With him a staff or a good sword.
And maids with light
945 In lanterns, without fail, 945
Make haste! quick, hence!

CAIAPHAS.

The blessing of Mahound be on thee always
For certainly thou art faithful and trusty
And steadfast in thy agreements.
950 Executioners, without delay, 950
Come hither, least and greatest,
Now in all needs.

We now come to the garden of Gethsemane, when the scriptural account is closely observed; the betrayal; the taking before Caiaphas and Pilate; Peter's denial; the mocking and scourging; in all of which the dignity of the principal personage is well maintained, and the others are developed with really wonderful stage effect. The interrogation by Pilate is well treated, and at great length; but at last, when Pilate orders the Jailor to bring before him all his prisoners, a kind of comic dialogue ensues between the latter and the servant, who refuses to obey, and complains of his wages not having been paid. This Shakespearian method of relieving the heaviness of a long tragedy was, no doubt, highly popular with the audience.

Here is a specimen of the Cornish vernacular :

CARCERATOR.

ru'm fey pilat re sorras
me a'th pys awos satnas
doro an laddron yn mes

2255

JAILOR.

By my faith, Pilate is angry;
I pray thee, by Satan,
Bring out the thieves.

2255

GARCON.

me a leuer an guyr thy's
the pe yma ow wagys
ny fynnaf tryge genes

SERVANT.

I tell thee the truth,
May wages are to pay;
I will not stay with thee.

CARC.

yn dan ambos ythees
ha ken na fe da genes
gul the serrys ty a wra

2260

GARCON.

ow arfeth byth na whyla
ahanas gy vn demma
my ny sensaf yn tor-ma

CARC.

me a fyn re thu am ros
the kemeres gans carios
hag yn pryson the teulel

2265

GARCON.

me ny sensaf vn bram plos
an oas yn geth nagh yn nos
hagh a henna ty a feyl

2270

CARC.

myr ha stordy yv an guas
ha mur y lanarow bras
ha'm gorthyby ol dres keyn

GARCON.

alemma bys yn tryger
war ow fay lacks mester
ny alsen y thyerbyn

2275

JAILOR.

Under a bargain thou art;
And though it be not good with thee,
Thou shalt do thy service. [2260]

SERVANT.

My hire I have never seen;
Of thee one halfpenny
I do not hold in this time.

JAILOR.

I will give thee my promise,
To take thee with a cart,
And cast thee into prison.

2265

SERVANT.

I value not a dirty crumb
The case by day or by night,
And of that thou shalt fail.

2270

JAILOR.

See how sturdy the fellow is,
And his big words are many,
And he answers me all over the back.

SERVANT.

From this place to Treguer,
On my faith, a worse master
I should not be able to meet him.

2275

At last the servant gives way, and the prisoners are produced before Pilate, by the jailor, with these words:

CARC.

heil pilat syre iustis stout
heil syre cayphas epscop prout
heil pryns annas
heil doctors ha mestrygi
marregyon heil heil thywhy
byan a bras
otte barabas ha ihesu
gans mur a grye
dimas iesmas yn vn fu
though dyuythys

2285

2290

JAILOR.

Hail, Pilate! sir justice stout,
Hail, sir Caiaphas, bishop proud,
Hail, prince Annas,
Hail, doctors and masters,
Knights, hail, hail, to ye,
Little and great!
Behold Barabbas and Jesus,
With much of force,
Dymas, Jemas in one chain,
Come to you.

2345

2350

On the way to Calvary the address to the weeping women is thus rendered:

INC.

myrghes a ierusalem
na olough na na wreugh drem
warnaf vy nag-onan vyth
sav warnough agas honan
ha war 'gas flehes vyan
ken the ole why a's byth
rak certan y tue dythyow

2640

2645

JESUS.

Daughters of Jerusalem,
Weep not, no, nor make lament
On me, not any one;
But on ye yourselves,
And on your little children,
Cause to weep to you shall be.
For certainly the days shall come,

2640

2645

may fanygough an torrow na's teve vythqueth fleshes ha kekyffrys an bronnow na thenes fleshesyggow guyn aga beys er bones	2650	That ye bless the wombs Which have never borne children; And also the breasts That children have not sucked, Happy their fate shall be.	2650
yn vr-na whreugh pyiadow may ooththo an mynythyow warnough rag evn vtheakter ha why a pys an runyow th'agas gorhery hep gow kymmys vyth an ponveter	2655	In that hour ye shall make prayers, That the mountains may fall Upon ye, for very horror; And ye shall pray the hills To hide you, without a lie, So great will be the trouble.	2655

The crucifixion must have been a very difficult portion to represent, but it is done with close adherence, in the main features, to Scripture, though with many additions arising from the characters represented. The drama ends with Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa placing the body in the sepulchre; and Nicodemus closes the whole with a short address *ad populum*, ending thus :

bennath ihesu though naffre ha henna preest me a pys eus pop ol war tuhe tre an guary yw dywythys ha deug avar	3235	The blessing of Jesus on ye ever, And that always, I pray. Go ye all on the side of home, The Play is ended; And come early	3235
avorow my agas pys the welas fetal sevyys crist mes a'n beth cler ha war	3240	To-morrow, I pray you, To see how Christ rose Out of the tomb bright and gentle.	3240

The actors finally arrange themselves thus while the audience melt away,—*Celum, Centurio, Cayphas, Princeps Annas, Herodes, Pilatus, Doctores, Tortores.*

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, etc. By E. VIOLLET LE DUC. Translated from the French by M. Mac Dermott. 1 vol. 8vo, 1860. J. H. & J. Parker, Oxford and London.

THIS able translation of one of the most interesting articles in M. Viollet le Duc's great Dictionary, reprinted in the form of a distinct essay, constitutes a valuable addition to the library of the British Archæologist. It is needless to say, that the Dictionary itself is one of the great books of the age, one that marks an epoch in the history of architecture; honourable in the extreme to its learned author, and flattering to the men of our time, because they are able to read and appreciate it. Fifty years ago such a book could not have been written; or, if written, could not have been read: but henceforth it will take its stand among the scientific works of the nineteenth century, and it will remain a classical work of reference of the same stamp as those of Vitruvius and Palladio. The calibre of an architect may now be safely measured by an examination in Viollet le Duc; if he cannot pass that, let him fall back into the ranks—we will not say of builders, for builders are often men of great science and practical good sense,—but into those of "House and Church Designers."

One of the articles in this Dictionary which has most surprized the professional world by its learning, its science, and its exquisite artistic skill, is that on Military Architecture. It applies not merely to the military constructions of France, but it elucidates and explains those of all Europe. The principles it lays down by deduction, and proves by positive analysis, throw a new light on the history of the Middle Ages, and makes the study of it valuable, not only to the professional man, but also to the general reader of all archæological publications.

We may say almost the same of other great articles in the Dictionary, such as "*Architecture*" generally; then "*Ecclesiastical Architecture*;" then "*Monastic Architecture*;" then "*Carpentry or Timberwork*;" and especially "*Construction*," which is indisputably the most profound and satisfactory essay on the principles of mediæval building hitherto written. All of these deserve translation; and we hope the same House which has given us the present volume will, with its usual good taste and sound appreciation of the archæological spirit and requirements of the day, ere long set on foot a series of volumes as well translated as this has been by Mr. Mac Dermott.

The volume before us is profusely illustrated with the original engravings of M. Viollet le Duc. Those marvellous wood-blocks are *chefs d'œuvre* of the art of wood-cutting; they are all drawn by M. Viollet le Duc himself on the blocks, and are then cut by the talented young artists, of whom he has formed quite a school around him. With all respect to our artistic friends and brethren in the United Kingdom, we think they have not hitherto produced any architectural woodcuts superior to these. We wish that we could have illustrated this notice with some of them, but they are reserved as copyright by the author. Without them only a very faint idea can be conveyed of the professional value of this work, and we must confine our extracts to parts that are historical rather than architectural.

The general system of the Roman method of fortifying towns is ably explained in the following passages :

"In conformity with the traditions of the Roman fixed camp, the fortifications of the towns of the middle ages enclosed a castle, or at the least a fort, which commanded the walls; the castle itself contained a detached defence stronger than all the others, which took the name of donjon. Frequently the towns of the middle ages were protected by several fortified walls, one within the other; or there was the city proper, which, placed upon the point of greatest elevation, was surrounded by strong walls, and around it faubourgs (or suburbs) defended by towers and curtains, or by simple works of earth or timber, with ditches. When the Romans founded a city, they took care, as far as was possible, to choose some site sloping towards a river. When the inclination of the ground was terminated by another embankment, sloping in the opposite direction, at some distance from the course of the river, the site fulfilled all the conditions to be desired.

"It is according to this arrangement that the cities of Autun, Cahors, Auxerre, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Langres, &c., were fortified in the Roman times. When a bridge connected, in front of the walls, the opposite sides of the river, then the bridge was defended by a *tête-de-pont*, on the side over against the town. These *têtes-de-pont* assumed more or less importance in different places; they took in whole suburbs, or were merely fortresses, or

simple barbicans. Stockades, with towers face to face, built on the two banks of the river above the bridge, permitted the townspeople to bar the passage and intercept the navigation by throwing from one tower to the other either chains, or pieces of wood attached end to end by iron rings. If, as was the case with Rome herself, in the neighbourhood of a river were situated a series of hills, care was taken not to surround these hills, but to carry the walls of defence across their summits; fortifying strongly at the same time the intervals, which, being commanded by the front, on both sides, could not be attacked without great risk. For this purpose, also, between the hills the line of the walls was nearly always inflected and concave in such a way as to flank the valleys..... But if the city stood in the plain (in which case it was generally of secondary importance), advantage was taken of every rise in the ground; the sinuosities being carefully followed, so as to prevent the besiegers from establishing themselves on a level with the foot of the walls, as may be seen at Langres and Carcassonne,—we append the Visigoth enceinte of the latter town—we might almost say the Roman one, inasmuch as some of the towers are built on Roman foundations. In the cities of antiquity, as well as in the greater number of those erected in the middle ages, and in those of our own day, the castle (*château, castellum; capdhol, capitul* in *langue d'oc*) was built, not only on the point of greatest elevation, but also contiguous on one of its sides to the city wall, in order to secure to the garrison the means of receiving succour from without if the city were taken. The entrances into the castle were protected by outworks, which extended a considerable distance into the country, so as to leave between the first barriers and the walls of the castle an open space, or *place d'armes*, which would allow of the encampment of a body of troops beyond the fixed lines of fortification, to sustain the shock of the first attacks. These advanced intrenchments were generally thrown up in a semicircular line and composed of ditches and palisades; and the gates were placed laterally, so as to oblige the enemy, who endeavoured to force them, to present himself in flank before the walls of the place."

Another interesting portion is that referring to the earlier military constructions of the middle ages, of which a good idea may be obtained from the extracts which we give below:

"We cannot doubt that the crusades, during which so many memorable sieges were effected, improved the means of attack, and that consequently important modifications were introduced into the defence of fortified places. Down to the thirteenth century fortification relies chiefly upon its passive force, on the mass and the position of its walls. It sufficed to enclose a feeble garrison in towers and behind walls of great height and thickness, to enable them to hold out a long time against assailants whose means of attack were weak. The Norman castles, which were erected in such numbers by those new conquerors of the north-west of France and in England, presented masses of building which defied all attempts at escalade because of their height, and which were almost beyond the reach of the sap. The builders, moreover, were always careful to plant, as far as it was possible, these castles upon elevated spots, on some table-land or high-up level of rock, or even on artificial hillocks; to surround them with deep ditches, so as to render it impossible to undermine them; and as a refuge, in the event of surprise or treason, the outer enceinte of the castle contained always an isolated donjon or keep, commanding the whole of the works, itself frequently surrounded by a moat and a wall (*chemise*), and which from its position generally close to the outside, and the great height of its walls, would enable a few men to

hold in check a large body of assailants, or to escape if the place were no longer tenable.

"But after the first crusades, and when the feudal system had placed in the hands of some of the nobles a power almost equal to that of the king, it became necessary to discard the system of passive fortification, indebted to its mass only for its defensive power, and adopt a system of fortification which would give to the defence an activity equal to that of the attack, and require at the same time more numerous garrisons. It no longer sufficed (and the terrible Simon de Montfort had proved the fact) to be in possession of massive walls, of castles built upon steep rocks, from the summit of which an assailant without active means of attack might be despised: it was necessary to defend those walls and those towers, and to furnish them with numerous troops, with engines and projectiles; it was necessary to multiply the means of inflicting injury on the besiegers, to render all his efforts unavailing, by effecting combinations which he could not foresee, and, above all, to place the garrison beyond the reach of surprises or *coups de-main*: for it not unfrequently happened that a place of great strength and well furnished with all the munitions of war fell beneath the sudden attack of a small troop of daring soldiers, who, passing over the bodies of the guards at the barriers, seized on the gates, and in this way secured for the main body of the army an entrance into the town.

"Towards the end of the twelfth century, and during the first half of the thirteenth, the means of attack and defence, as we have said, were much improved, and especially by their being more methodically carried out. We see, then, for the first time in armies and fortified places, engineers (*ingegnere*) specially intrusted with the construction of the engines intended for attack and defence. Amongst these engines there were some which were at the same time defensive and offensive, that is to say, constructed so as to protect the pioneers and batter the wall; others were offensive merely. When escalade (the first means of attack almost always employed) was not successful, and the gates were too strongly armed to be forced, then it became necessary to undertake a formal siege; it was then that the besiegers erected towers of wood, moving on rollers (*baffrais*), which they endeavoured to construct loftier than the walls of the town or place besieged, and a kind of moveable platform or gangway called *chat*, *gai*, or *gate*, the Roman *musculus* which Cæsar describes at the siege of Marseilles, formed of wood and covered with planks, iron, and hides, which was pushed to the foot of the walls, and which afforded a covering to the assailants when they wanted either to employ the *mouton* or *bosson* (the battering ram of the ancients), or to undermine the towers or curtains by the use of pickaxes, or lastly, to carry forward earth or fascines to fill up the moat."

We wish we could convey to our readers some notion of the main body of this excellent book, in which the author unfolds the whole *rationale* of mediæval attack and defence; but without the aid of engravings it is impossible. We must content ourselves with adding one more extract touching the latest form of military work, when all had become modified by the employment of gunpowder:

"When the effects of artillery were well known, and it became an ascertained fact that walls of masonry of some two or three yards in thickness (which was the mean thickness of curtains before the regular use of ordnance) could not resist a battery discharging from three to five hundred balls over a surface of eight yards square or thereabouts, at the same time that walls of masonry were lowered, various means were employed to give them a greater force of resistance. In constructions of a date anterior to the use of cannon,

it had been sometimes customary, in order the better to resist the action of the mine, the sap, or the ram, to build in the thickness of the walls relieving or discharging-arches, masked by the outer face ; which, by carrying the weight of the walls upon detached points, supported the parapets, and hindered the walls from falling all of a piece, unless it so happened that the besiegers had sapped them precisely at the concealed points of support, a casualty which could only be the effect of chance. In the sixteenth century this system was made perfect ; for not only were discharging-arches built in the thickness of the curtains of masonry, but these were strengthened by internal abutments buried in the earth-works, and sustaining the revetments by means of vertical semicircular vaults. Care was taken not to connect these buttresses with the solid portion of the walls throughout their whole height, in order to hinder the revetments, when they fell by the action of the balls, from carrying the buttresses with them ; these internal spurs could also, by sustaining the earth-work between them, offer an obstacle which it would be difficult to overthrow. But those means were costly ; they always required, besides, that the walls should form a somewhat considerable escarpment above the level of the counterscarp of the ditch. It was with difficulty engineers could be brought to abandon their elevated works ; for, at this period, assault by escalade was still frequently attempted by besieging troops, and the narratives of the sieges of fortified places make frequent mention of them. Besides the means already described, whether for placing walls in a state to resist cannon, or for presenting a new obstacle to the besiegers when they had succeeded in overthrowing them, they did what was called *remparer* the fortifications, that is to say, they fixed on the outside of the ditches, or even as a protection to the wall to deaden the balls, or at a certain distance within the works, ramparts of wood and earth, the first forming a covered way, or a revetment to the wall, and the second a series of boulevards behind which to place artillery : 1stly, to embarrass the approaches and prevent a sudden assault, or to preserve the wall from the effect of cannon shot ; 2dly, to arrest the besiegers when the breach was effected. The first named replaced the ancient lists, and the second obliged the besiegers to besiege the place anew, after the wall of enclosure had been destroyed. These ramparts of earth deadened the ball and resisted longer than walls of masonry ; and they were better adapted to receive and to protect pieces in battery than the old earth-work parapets. They were constructed in several ways ; the strongest were formed by means of an external revetment composed of vertical pieces of timber connected by St. Andrew's crosses, in order to hinder the work from undergoing displacement when some of its parts had been injured by the balls. Behind this timber-work facing was a series of *fascines* of small branches interlaced, or wattles, then an earth-work composed of alternate layers of wattles and earth. Sometimes the rampart was formed of two rows of strong stakes fixed vertically, bound together by means of flexible withes, and having a horizontal framework keyed in ; the intervals being filled in with stiff clay well rammed down, with all the pebbles taken out, and interspersed with very small pieces of wood. Or else trunks of trees laid down horizontally, connected together by cross-pieces keyed through, and with the intervals filled in as last described, formed the rampart. Embrasures were left at intervals, with hanging flaps. If the besieged were attacked suddenly, or if they could not obtain the kind of clay required, they contented themselves with binding together trees which retained a portion of their branches, the interspaces being filled in with fascines. Those new impediments opposed to siege-artillery led to the use of hollow balls and projectiles charged with combustibles, which, exploding in the midst of the ramparts, produced great disorder. By degrees, sudden overt attacks had to be abandoned, and places thus guarded ap-

proached only under cover, and along winding trenches, the angular or rounded turnings of which were protected from enfilade fire by gabions filled with earth set on end. These large gabions served also for masking pieces placed in battery; the intervals between the gabions forming the embrasures. When the besiegers, by means of trenches, succeeded in placing their last batteries close up to the fortifications, and these latter were furnished with good external ramparts and with walls of great elevation, it became a matter of necessity to protect the breach battery against the horizontal and plunging fire of these works, by embankments of earth surmounted with rows of gabions or of palisades strongly bound together and lined with wattles. Those works could only be executed during the night, as it is the practice still to execute them."

ESSAYS ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL SUBJECTS. By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. 2 vols. London, 1861. J. Russell Smith.

THESE exceedingly interesting volumes consist of Essays and Reviews, most of them reprints, which have proceeded from the author's fertile and erudite pen during the last few years. They comprise a great variety of subjects, all sure to attract attention, and, what is more, amply to repay perusal. There are two or three among them, indeed, to which the old Horatian encomium, "decies repetita placebit," will very fairly apply: such as those on the *History of the English Language*, the *History of the Drama*, the *History of Comic Literature during the Middle Ages*, and the *Satirical Literature of the Reformation*. Few antiquaries have done so much to popularize archæological literature, and to bring it home to every man's fireside and study table in an acceptable form, as Mr. Wright. Not that everybody agrees with him in his theories and deductions: our own pages have borne testimony to the contrary; but he is always a most readable author,—and this is saying a good deal in his favour. Archæology, from the scientific point of view, must be treated as any other scientific subject, with precision and mathematical accuracy, whether of analysis or of inference; but still the tastes and the wants, we may say the capacities, of the mass of mankind must be consulted; and to make the matter popular somebody or other must be able to write in a popular way about it. Now this is one of Mr. Wright's great merits. He is not only able to handle many an archæological topic with the most scientific exactitude, but he can also make it acceptable to the world; commanding the sympathies of the crowded lecture room, as well as the attention of the cloistered student.

It hardly falls within the province of the Journal of our Association to notice Essays not immediately connected with Welsh antiquities; and therefore, after having read all the contents of these volumes with great pleasure, we are bound to pass them over, and to say that, in the first volume will be found the *Account of the Tumulus at St. Wernard's*, which originally appeared in our pages; and also that on the *Origin of the Welsh*, so well known to most members of our Association. There is also a short but excellent Essay on Geoffrey of Mon-

mouth's *Historia Britonum*, which we recommend strongly to all our readers, whether they may agree with the author or not. All these we must thus passingly allude to in order that—although at the risk of giving rise to much controversy—we may introduce to their notice Mr. Wright's Essay *On the Origin of Rhymes and the early Welsh Poems*. He gives a lucid account of the rise of rhyming versification on the ruins of the Latin language, and through the growth of the Neo-Latin dialects, which he illustrates with numerous extracts from the poets of southern Europe; summing up his opinion in this manner:

"I have already intimated that rhyming Latin verse was never much in use among the Latin writers of the Anglo-Saxon period in this island. Rhyme was never, properly speaking, in use in Anglo-Saxon poetry; the only two or three examples known, were evidently intended only as ingenious exercises, perhaps in imitation of the Latin rhymes, and cannot be ascribed to an earlier date than the beginning of the eleventh century. In fact, till the twelfth century, rhyme belonged to the vernacular poetry only of the Romance languages. It was evidently taken from the Latin; and I have shewn how in Latin rhyming verse originated, and how it became developed very slowly and gradually, until it was brought to perfection, and into common use, at a late period."

We must now be excused if, as we did on a former occasion, we allow the author to lay his own case before his brother members of the Association; and if, without pledging our own opinions to be coincident with his own, we quote textually the remainder of Mr. Wright's Essay. It will, no doubt, be controverted; still everybody will give the author credit for expressing his views clearly and well, and, we will add, with great candour:

"There is, however, apparently one very extraordinary exception to this rule. The Welsh lay claim to a series of vernacular poets under such names as Aneurin, Taliesin, and Merlin, who are asserted to have lived in the sixth century, and others belonging to ages immediately succeeding; and they shew us what are asserted to be their genuine compositions, and which present, strangely enough, a system of perfect rhymes, and of the different forms of versification, exactly like those which, after a long and laborious course of formation, are only first found in French poetry in the twelfth century. This is, certainly, a very startling circumstance, and one which may well lead us to hesitate in accepting these Welsh poems, of which I am speaking, as authentic. We have no evidence whatever of the use of rhyme among the ancient Celts, either in Britain or in Gaul; and surely it is utterly inexplicable how, if this perfect system of rhyme had existed so generally and publicly among them, the whole Latin church should have remained totally ignorant of it, and should have been striving through two or three centuries to invent and improve rhyme, when it was all the while to be found close beside them in a perfect state of development! For it must be remembered that these Welsh poets were Christians, and that they were in continual intercourse with the Christians of the Continent—of the Latin church—and might certainly have given a helping hand to the Latin attempts at rhyme. Nay, more, some of these very ecclesiastics on the Continent, such as St. Gall, Columbanus, and many others, who were either making attempts at Latin rhyming verse themselves, as an ingenious novelty, or who were at least witnessing the attempts of others, were them-

selves of Celtic origin, and ought to have been able to tell people that there was nothing new in it.

"Sharon Turner, in his *Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems*, imagines that he has found a triumphant answer to any objection to the genuineness of the poems in question, grounded on the fact just stated, when he points to these instances of rhyme in the early mediæval Latin versifiers,—a plea which might, perhaps, have deserved some consideration if the system of rhyme of the supposed primæval Welsh poetry had been as rude and inartificial as that of these Latin poems. But this is not the case. We have seen how, in Latin, the rhymes came into use in Italy and the south of Europe; how they remained for ages rude and inartificial, and became only gradually known in the west, until their more perfect development, which can hardly be placed earlier than the ninth and tenth centuries; and how rhyme was adopted in the vernacular French, in which it was still further perfected and developed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Now the system of rhyme of the primitive Welsh bards, such as Taliesin and Aneurin and Llywarch Hên, does not resemble that which we find scattered sparingly over the Latin metrical compositions of the sixth and seventh centuries; but it is an evident imitation of the more perfect rhyme of the French versification of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as much so as the vernacular English poetry of the same period. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the *Gododin* attributed to Aneurin, and most of what appear to be the oldest of the poems ascribed to Taliesin, with the old French *romans de geste*, cannot fail to be convinced that, in their metres and rhymes, the former are imitated from the latter. They present exactly the same character of composition, with the same repetitions of rhymes through divisions of unequal length. The resemblance is far too close to be accidental, and would be perfectly inexplicable, if not impossible, if we suppose a difference of date of six centuries. But, as we go on comparing, we are encountered on all sides by resemblances of a still more striking character. A poem of Taliesin on the death of Owain, the son of Urien Rheged, is composed in the following versification :

'Enaid Owian ap Urien,
Gobwyllid ei Ren
 Oi Raid.
Reged Udd ai cudd tromlas,
Nid oed fas,
 Ei gywyddeid.'

Another is addressed to Urien Rheged himself in the following metre :

'Urien Reget
Duallovyet
 Y Leuenyd.
Eur ac Aryant
Mor eu diwant,
 Eu dihenyd.'

Another, which has received a great amount of mystical interpretation, runs thus :

'Mon Mab gogei,
Gwrhyd erfel,
 Menai ei dor.
Lleweis wirawd,
Gwin a bragawd,
 Gan frawd esgor.'

Now this is a very common form of verse in different metres in the French poetry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and no doubt was in use in the twelfth. The following is taken from a poem probably of the thirteenth century :—

‘ Ce n’est pas honneur ne courtoisie,
Ne gueres le tienk à mestrie
De vassal,
Pur une petite bailie,
De prendre à nulle rien atye
De fere mal.’

To following is a sample of an English poem of the thirteenth century :—

‘ At evesong even neh,
Ydel men yet he seh,
Lomen hadde an honde ;
To hem he sayde an heh,
That suythe he wes undreh,
So ydel forte stonde.’

“ Who can doubt for a moment that the French metres and rhymes were in this case the models of the Welsh as well as of the English verses ? Mr. Nash, in his work on Taliesin, has shown clearly that the last of the poems of that poet quoted above was really an elegy on an archdeacon of Anglesey, who flourished in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. I could point out other arrangements of metres and rhymes in these supposed early Welsh poems, the types of which are equally found in the French and English of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but it is not necessary to multiply examples. If these poems are genuine, the bards must indeed have been endowed largely with the spirit of prophecy, when they wrote in the sixth century in systems of verse which were not invented until the twelfth !

“ There is a well-known and frequently quoted passage of the ‘ Descriptio Cambrie’ of Giraldus Cambrensis, relating to the poetry of the Welsh as it existed at the close of the twelfth century, for that was the date at which the book alluded to was written, in which he acknowledges that the Welsh songs were then composed in rhyme, but he informs us at the same time that the favourite ornamentation of their poetry was alliteration, and he speaks of it as resembling closely the alliteration of the English. As the English example which he gives,—

‘ God is together—gammen and wisdoms,’

is a perfect alliterative couplet, it is clear that Giraldus knew very well what English and Anglo-Saxon alliteration was. The first of his Welsh examples is equally perfect, and has both the Anglo-Saxon alliteration and rhythm :—

‘ Digawn Duw—da yn unic.’

His second example is evidently corrupt in the manuscripts, and the alliteration is lost. Both are found in old Welsh poems, but as they are evidently popular proverbs, it is not necessary to suppose that Giraldus took them from those particular poems. I believe that the Welsh scholars allow that this alliteration is characteristic of their oldest poems.

“ Now I confess that the form of this Welsh alliterative verse, and the manner in which Giraldus speaks of it, lead me to think that it was originally borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons. I do not mean to say that the Welsh had not a poetry of their own—all rude society has, but it changes or takes its forms under the influence of outward circumstances, and it was the very last class of literature which came to be committed to writing. It

appears probable that the poetry of the Anglo-Saxon minstrels was not committed to writing before the tenth and eleventh centuries ; and long before that, if the Anglo-Saxons had any strictly historical poetry of an early date, it had without doubt perished, or the chroniclers and historical writers would have made some use of it. Such strictly historical poetry was the least common in the primitive condition of society, and it was the least permanent. The poetry of the Saxon 'bards' was chiefly mythic in this character, that is, it celebrated either the deeds of the gods from whom the whole Teutonic race claimed its descent, or the exploits of strictly mythic heroes to whom the regal families and the great chiefs traced their pedigree.

"Among the poetry attributed to the supposed early Welsh bards, there is much, such as the love for riddles and for enigmatical expressions, and for a particular class of didactic poetry, which has its close resemblance in the Anglo-Saxon literature of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and which was I think borrowed from it in the same way that much of the rest was borrowed from the Anglo-Norman of a later date. The Welsh had no doubt abundance of traditions and legends as mythic as those of the Anglo-Saxons. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were just in that political condition when men look back with eagerness to a supposed former glory, and love to exaggerate the supposed exploits of their ancestors, and when they readily mistake their mythical legends for historical ones. This, we know, was rarely done by the Anglo-Saxon historical writers, though one or two examples occur. I suspect, then, that previous to the Norman conquest, the Welsh minstrels had borrowed largely from the literature of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, and, among other things, had adopted their form of verse ; that afterwards, when they came in contact with the Normans, they changed their verse taken from the Saxons for that now brought over from the continent, except that for some time they retained their taste for alliteration along with the universal adoption of rhyme. It was, in fact, the same process of change which was going on contemporaneously in English literature itself, where we find in the same manner and for a considerable period the Saxon alliteration retained and joined with the Norman rhyme.

"Mr. D. W. Nash has published a very excellent dissertation on the poems of Taliesin, which I would strongly recommend to all who feel an interest in the investigation of this question. Mr. Nash has pointed out frequent allusions in these poems of Taliesin which fix the composition of many of them to a date not older than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I think that he might have gone further than he has gone, for I feel convinced that we have no Welsh poetry existing of an older date than the twelfth century—when it appears to have begun to be committed to writing. The oldest known MS., the 'Black Book of Caermarthen,' is, I suspect, not older than the latter part of the twelfth century. The Welsh appear at that time to have seized upon the continental poetry and romance with great eagerness, for it is the foundation of a great mass of the mediæval Welsh literature. This is fully apparent to any one who has studied the mediæval literature of Europe in general and extensively. I believe, further, that the influence of the Norman invasion was felt in the language as well as in the literature ; for, from a comparison of the forms of the words, I am satisfied that a very large portion of, if not all, the Latin element which is found in the Welsh tongue was derived directly from Anglo-Norman, which was gradually mixing with it in the same way that it was mixing with English. For instance, in the formation of the Neo-Latin dialects, the final *s* of Latin words was invariably preserved, so that this termination became characteristic of the nominative cases singular of most of the masculines ; thus the Latin *nullus* became *nul*, or *nus*, in Anglo-Norman, while the objective case would be *nul*, representing *nullum*, *nulle*, or *nulli*, all of which are

without the final *s*. So, also the Latin *pons*, a bridge, became in Anglo-Norman, nominative, *pons*, or *pons*, objective *pont*. This rule was strictly preserved during the twelfth century, but after that period a considerable change began to take place in the forms of Anglo-Norman and French, one of which was the abandonment of the old nominative in *s*, *x*, or *z*, and the adoption of the objective for the nominative. I will not on the present occasion attempt to explain the reason of this change, but it certainly did take place, and from that time the nominative case singular would be *pont*, and not *pons*, or *ponz*; but if I found *pont* as the nominative in a composition of the twelfth century, I should at once say that it could only be the error of a later copyist. This is the case with a very large portion of the nouns in the language. Now it is a remarkable circumstance that the words in the Latin element of the Welsh language, as far as I have examined the question, have generally the Anglo-Norman forms, and in a great proportion of them in such forms as were the results of a change in the French or Anglo-Norman themselves, and which could hardly from any possibility have arisen if these words had been adopted from the Latin before the sixth century. Therefore, when I find in a poem ascribed to Taliesin, and bearing the title of Kad Goddeu (the Battle of the Trees), such a line as this,—

‘Bum *pont* ar trigar, | I have been a bridge for passing over,’

I cannot help coming to the conclusion that, either the bard, among his other gifts of prophecy, possessed the knowledge of the grammar of languages which had not yet come into existence, or that the line in question is a modern composition. It may, perhaps, be alleged that these might have been interpolations in the original text; but this would not be a good defence, and the occurrence of this class of words in writings pretending to an early date would be sufficient to raise strong suspicions. But the system of versification and rhyme in the poems ascribed to Taliesin, Aneurin, Llywarch Hên, and the other Welsh poets anterior to the twelfth century, is, I am convinced, quite fatal to their character of genuineness. The objection does not, as Sharon Turner seemed to think, consist merely in the use of rhyme, but in the use of perfected systems of rhyme which belonged to as late a date. I may add, that this is by no means the only objection to the genuineness of the poetry attributed to the early Welsh bards.

BRUT Y TYWYSOGION. (*Second Notice.*)

SINCE the publication of the former portion of our Review of this book, in which the authorship of the greater and only valuable part of the Preface was claimed, and proved to belong to the late Mr. Aneurin Owen, the editor of the book has addressed a letter to the editor of our *Journal* explaining his reasons for not acknowledging his obligations to his predecessor. We hope the explanation may prove satisfactory to the Master of the Rolls; but it seems to come rather late, for the omission must have been perceived immediately after the publication of the volume. What is called in that letter “prefatory fragments,” was a complete preface by Mr. Aneurin Owen, in his own handwriting, accompanied by a letter signed by himself; and it is to be regretted that this very Preface was not itself published, instead of that which has actually appeared. We hope, indeed, that the

entire contents of the portfolio in the Record Office—we might say, all Mr. Aneurin Owen's letters and *reliquia*, will some day see the light : in the meantime it is gratifying to know, that his great antiquarian merits, in this instance at least, are not likely to sink into oblivion. As for the transcripts at Llanover not being in the hand of Mr. Aneurin Owen, *they could not be*, because the originals had been, with one exception, returned to the Record Office in 1848 ; but it could hardly fail to be perfectly well known to the Editor by whom the originals, and also by whom the copies of them were made. They comprised, in fact, the whole of the *Brut y Tywysogion*,—the whole of the text of this volume ; and it was fortunate that they did. The main work of "collation" was also done by Mr. Aneurin Owen ; for we believe that not a single original document in the Record Office was personally consulted by the Editor during the progress of the work. It is true there was not much need of it ; Aneurin Owen had done it previously, and had done it well.

In the preface to the *Brut*, reference is made by the Editor to a MS. in the Hengwrt collection ; and a fac-simile of it from one of the three plates is given at the beginning of the volume. This reference contains the following passage : "It was probably written about the end of the thirteenth century." Now, is this conjecture to be taken as that of the Editor, or as that of the officers of the Rolls House ? The MS. is evidently of the *fifteenth* century ; and this error of two centuries, which the character of the writing instantly shows, is certainly a most unfortunate *lapsus*, to whomsoever it is attributable.

The first portion of the Preface, which no one can accuse Aneurin Owen of, is all about the Triads, and various Bardic matters. A good deal of this is probably the editor's own, as may be inferred from the following *advertisement*, in a note, p. ix :

"It may be proper to observe, that most of the documents which relate to the Bardo-druidic system, hitherto exist only in manuscript. At the Grand Eisteddvod, which was held at Llangollen last year, a prize of a Gold Bardic Tiara, and thirty pounds in money, was offered for the fullest illustration, from original sources, of the Theology, Discipline, and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic system of the Isle of Britain. The prize was won by the editor of the present volume. The information thus brought together is such as will, when published, inevitably attract the attention of both British and Continental scholars."

From this notice, appearing as it does under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls, is it to be anticipated that this will be the next work which the editor will be commissioned to publish ? Independently of this indication, the reference made in this part of the preface is principally to a volume printed some years ago by the Welsh MSS. Society, called the *Iolo MSS.*, one of the least creditable to the discernment of that Society which has yet appeared. Its contents, where not altogether apocryphal, are unsupported by any reliable authorities ; and they have derived their modern appellation from one who, though fond of antiquities, had no real right to the title of an antiquary, nor any sufficient knowledge on which to base a claim of that nature, notwithstanding that the editor of the *Brut*, in p. xii, styles him "a scrupu-

lously faithful antiquary, and one that was deeply versed in the traditions of his order (the Bardic)." The credit of this part of the work may safely be left to the editor, and to the late Iolo Morganwg. It appears, therefore, that whatever is of any historical and antiquarian value in the preface is due to Aneurin Owen, while the whole body of the work, the chronicle, is entirely his also; and at the end of the book occurs an index, copious and careful; this the editor attributes to Mr. Kenward, of Birmingham. The only remaining portion of the volume is a glossary, which it may be presumed the editor claims for his own; for at p. 379, speaking of it in an introductory note, he says, it "may be useful to such as are desirous of satisfying themselves as to the correctness of this translation"; and afterwards unwisely refers the reader to the *Dosparth Edeyrn davod aur*, or "*Ancient Grammar of Wales*," lately "*edited*" by him. No doubt this glossary is of use, but we hardly see the use of swelling it out to the extent of forty pages, when in fact the greater part of it is nothing but a reproduction of what any common Welsh dictionary could supply; we could understand the value of interpreting and commenting upon ancient obsolete Welsh words, but the ordinary words of the modern language might very well have been left to themselves, without the aid of the Master of the Rolls. Common nouns, verbs, adjectives, and other parts of speech occur here in great numbers, and are correctly printed, with their usual well-known significations; but no disquisitions or authorities are given for the explanation or illustration of unusual words; we learn nothing whatever from it; the book is made cumbersome by it,—nothing else. Where is the utility of inserting "Mab; a boy, a son;" "Merch; a woman, a daughter;" "Mam, a mother;" "Tad, a father;" "O, from; of, out of, by;" "Na; nor, neither;" "Pobl, a people;" "Pa, what;" "Pe, if;" "Ymenyn, butter;" "Awr, an hour?" Where is the editorial skill displayed in these insertions of words which anybody, not conversant with Welsh, might find in the commonest dictionary? One of the most recondite explanations we have met with is, perhaps, the following: "Awyr (aw-yr; Gr. *αἴρ*: L. *aer*), air, sky;" readers no doubt will be thankful to be informed of the equivalents for "air" in the two learned languages. Again, "Sul (su-ul; L. *sol*); the sun. *Dydd sul*, dies solis, Sunday;" which displays an amount of profound research not commonly met with, we suppose.

If, instead of swelling out the glossary with common words, the editor had imitated the example of Aneurin Owen in the glossary appended to the *Laws of Howel Dda*, and given only those words that actually demanded interpretation, or on which some historical information was required, he would have done well. To quote two instances of what is meant: The *Mab* in the glossary of the *Brut* is explained as stated above, simply thus: "Mab (ma-ab), a boy, a son;" but in Mr. Aneurin Owen's glossary it stands as follows:

"**MAB**, a son; often abbreviated to 'ab' and 'ap.'"

"**MAB**, a youth under age."

"**MAB**, a man; hence, 'mab aillt,' an aillt; 'mab alltud,' an alien; 'mab bardd,' a bard."

Here the information is ample and good.

The word *Ceinioŷ* is thus given in the glossary of the *Brut*:

"CEINIAWŷ (keinauw; cant). A penny; ring money."

But in Aneurin Owen's glossary of the Welsh laws we find the following really valuable information:

"CEINIOW (cain-iog) *fair*;—A denarius or penny; no coins have been found which can be attributed to any Welsh prince, although large deposits of Roman coins (principally of the Lower Empire) have been occasionally discovered. From the frequent mention of payments in silver some medium of circulation would seem to have been required, for which purpose the Saxon and Norman mintages, with possibly some worn Roman coins, might have served. The common, or curt penny, is meant generally when penny is mentioned; the legal penny was one third higher in value; the half-penny or *dimai*, was half the curt, one third of the legal penny. It is possible that this enumeration of two descriptions of pennies might have had its origin from the existence and use of the two species of *denarii* common during the Lower Empire, of the same relative proportions. The number of pence in the pound was 240."

These instances give a fair idea of the relative merits of the two glossaries, as understood by two authors of such very different turns of mind and extent of information. The glossary in the *Brut* might have been rendered much more valuable by omitting half the words, and by amply illustrating the remainder.

We now come to consider the manner in which the text is edited. This text, as was remarked before, may be considered on the whole safe. Aneurin Owen's transcripts have been followed with very slight deviations, and the chronicles may be looked upon as faithfully laid before the public. The *corrigenda* are not numerous, and the facility of lection is much promoted by the *octavo* instead of the *folio* form of the *Monumenta Historica*.

Nevertheless there are certain variations in the arrangements of the text, and in the order of placing the words in the translation, which occur pretty frequently; and the reason for which we confess ourselves unable to divine. We should have thought it more advisable not to have altered the arrangement of Aneurin Owen's transcript and translation in any respect, but to have given them just as they were found; more especially when no urgent cause for deviation was at all apparent. Especially in that portion which had been already printed in the *Monumenta Historica*, it would have been in far better taste not to have disturbed the work of the former editor in any manner whatever. As it stands, the text has the semblance of a pretence to an original transcript and translation, to which it has no legitimate title whatever; or else the order of words has been varied through mere caprice, possibly to give the printers a little more to do. We subjoin specimens of what we mean:—

In the *Monum. Hist.*, under the date of 683, Aneurin Owen's text and translation runs thus:

"[Dwy vlyned wedy hyany], ac yn oes hwnnw y bu uarwolyaeth yn Iwerdon."

"Two years after that, and in his time, there was a mortality in Ireland."

In the new edition of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the text and translation are thus transposed :

"Ac yn oes hwnnw [dwb vlyned wedy hynny] y bu uarwolyaeth yn Iwerdon."

"And in his time, two years subsequently, there was a mortality in Ireland."

Now why was this transposition made? was it because the word "*subsequently*" was supposed to be rather more elegant, though not so literal, as "after that"?

This sort of transposition runs, nevertheless, all through the new text and translation, from what cause we know not.

Again:—in the *Monum. Histor.* the date given to this entry is 683; but in the *Brut* the new editor changes the date to 686. Why is this?

In the entry immediately preceding the above, an original Welsh name, "*Maelwynog*"—spelt by Aneurim Owen as "*Maelwynog*", is given by the new editor as "*Molwynog*";—why not have left it as he found it?

To take another instance, under the date of 994, the text and translation in the *Monum. Histor.* are as follows :

"[Blwydyn wedy hynny], ac yna y diffieithwyt Manaw y gan Yswein uab Herald."

"A year after that, and then the Isle of Man was devastated by Swain, son of Harold."

Whereas, in the new edition, the text and translation are thus transposed.

"Ac yna [blwydyn wedy hynny] y diffieithwyt Manaw y gan Yswein uab Herald."

"And then, a year after that, etc."

What can have been the good of making such a trifling alteration in this latter instance? more especially as the new editor neither did, nor could transcribe the original texts, though the former one did, as, indeed, he was thoroughly able to do. Changes of the kind here exemplified run all through the text, and it is a circumstance to be regretted.

Brief notes were added by Aneurin Owen at the bottom of his pages, but these, though good, the present editor omits altogether. It would certainly have been much better had he not tampered with Aneurin Owen's text at all, but had been content to give it to the world just as that eminent antiquary left it. We conjecture, from the appearance of Aneurin Owen's papers, that he would have annotated the *Chronicles* exclusively. He had certainly been collecting materials for it, and possibly among his *reliquia* a body of notes may yet be discovered. We do not, however, despair, even if they should not be found, that when the whole texts of the *Chronicle* come to be accurately studied and compared with English chronicles of the same dates, then the more copious and accurate knowledge of archæology which distinguishes the times in which we live, may raise up some really competent scholar among us to continue Aneurin Owen's labours, and to wear his mantle with honour.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.—1860.

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS.

EXPENDITURE.		RECEIPTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To printing - - -	151 15 9	By balance in Treasurer's hands, 1st January, 1860 - - -	48 13 11
" steel engraving - - -	47 16 8	" ditto, Caerdigan Meeting - - -	22 6 8
" wood ditto - - -	34 5 6	" subscriptions, etc. - - -	318 18 0
" expenses of Bangor meeting - - -	17 16 7		
" museum cases - - -	4 18 7		
" carriage and postage - - -	12 15 8		
" transcribing - - -	10 1 4		
" law charges - - -	3 8 6		
" photographs - - -	1 8 0		
" incidental expenses - - -	10 15 10		
" balance in Treasurer's hands, 1 Jan. 1861 - - -	94 16 2		
	<u>£389 18 7</u>		<u>£389 18 7</u>
<i>Audited 20 June, 1861.</i>		JOHN POWELL } <i>Auditors for</i> W. L. BANKS, F.S.A. } 1860.	
		JOSEPH JOSEPH, F.S.A., <i>Treasurer.</i>	

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ON THE BOUNDARIES THAT SEPARATED THE WELSH AND ENGLISH RACES DURING THE SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS WHICH FOLLOWED THE CAPTURE OF BATH, A.D. 577; WITH SPECULATIONS AS TO THE WELSH PRINCES WHO DURING THAT PERIOD WERE REIGNING OVER SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., MASTER OF GONVILLE
AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SOME years back I laid before the Archæological Institute¹ certain opinions I had been led to form with reference to the districts respectively occupied by the Welsh and English races subsequently to the Treaty of the Mons Badonicus. I would now call attention to the boundaries that separated the two races at another important epoch of our history: I mean after the settlement which necessarily followed the battle fought at Deorham, A.D. 577. This battle was one of those events which change the fortunes of a people. It led, as we learn from the Chronicle, to the surrender of the three great cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath; and must have left our ancestors in quiet possession of the whole basin of the Severn—at least, on this side of the river—from the walls of Bath to the woodlands of Arden. The Welshmen living south of Bath seem to have come early into an arrangement with the conquerors; but we know that these restless soldiers were carrying on their desolating inroads in other directions for several years afterwards. The following entry refers to one of these inroads:

"A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits at the place that is called Fethanleah; and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry (yrre) he returned to his own country."

¹ Vid. "The Early English Settlements in South Britain," Salisbury Volume, Arch. Institute, p. 28.

The Chronicle does not disclose to us any ground for Ceawlin's anger; and I can only account for the existence of such a feeling on the supposition that he considered the check he received at Fethanleah to be owing to some misconduct on the part of his own officers. This hypothesis may help us to an explanation of the following entries:

"A. 590. Now Ceol reigned five years."

"A. 591. Now was there great slaughter at Wodnes beorh, and Ceawlin was driven out."

From Malmesbury we learn that, on this occasion, both Englishmen and Britons conspired against him (*De Gestis*, i, 2); and from the Appendix to Florence we further learn that among the rebels was his own nephew, Coel, whom two years previously he had made his viceroy,—probably over the newly conquered districts of the Severn valley. The disaffection which Ceawlin's harshness had left behind him in that neighbourhood may have furnished the inducement which tempted the nephew to rebel against his benefactor. We are expressly told, "immericito rebellavit." (Flor. App.)

As Ceawlin's defeat is an incident of some importance in this inquiry, it will not be amiss to dwell awhile on the circumstances that attended it.

Wodnes beorh was not merely celebrated as the scene of Ceawlin's defeat. In the long struggle for supremacy between Wessex and Mercia, after the latter had advanced its frontiers to Cirencester, it was always at Wodensburgh that the kings of Wessex stood on their defence. Yet the situation of this important post has not yet been determined. According to Sir R. C. Hoare, it was at Woodborough, south of the Wansdyke, though he also tells us that there is a place called Wanborough:¹ according to a suggestion of the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*,² it may have been at "Wemborow" (?)—a place I am unacquainted with: according to Mr. Thorpe, the place is undetermined;³ while Lappenberg⁴ thinks there may have been a temple of Woden at Wodensburgh, and that it was with special reference to such temple that the kings of Wessex took post there. As there is so much in our early history which must ever remain uncertain, we ought not to leave unsettled any question that really admits of settlement. The place is beyond all question Wanborough, near Swindon.

I have observed elsewhere that names of places which, in the Anglo-Saxon times, took what may be termed the genitival

¹ North Wilts, p. 16, n.

² *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 305.

³ *Flor. Wig. Chron.*, 9. *Hist. Society's series.*

⁴ *Lapp., Hist. of Engl., Thorpe's Transl.*, i, 263.

form, not unfrequently appear as simple compounds a few centuries later. Thus, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I should expect to find, instead of Wodensburgh, the simple compound, *Woden-burgh*,¹ and Wanborough would be the modern corruption of *Woden-burgh*, just as Wansdyke is the modern corruption of Woden's dyke,² and Wensday (the ordinary pronunciation of Wednesday) is the modern corruption of Woden's day. Here, then, we have identity of *name*; and that it indicates identity of *place* will hardly be doubted by any one who casts his eye over the map, and sees all the great highways of Wessex converging to a point in the neighbourhood of this village. When posted at Wanborough, the king of Wessex had Roman roads whereby to communicate with Winchester and Old Sarum, the capitals of his two principal shires; while another Roman road came to him from Silchester, through the heart of Berkshire, and the Icknield Street brought him the men of the Chiltern and adjacent parts of Oxfordshire. It was neither to protect, nor to be protected by, any temple of Woden that he took post at Wodensburgh. A military necessity fixed him there: it was the key of Wessex.

At Wanborough, then—as it were in the threshold of his house—Ceawlin prepared for the final struggle. After a reign of more than thirty years, and conquests such as no other English king could boast of, he had to meet revolted subjects in alliance with the people he had so often vanquished. The English settlers of the Severn valley, with their Welsh confederates, must have advanced, like the Mercians at a later period, along the Roman road leading from Cirencester; and after one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles recorded in our annals, Ceawlin was defeated. Two years afterwards he died in exile.

After such a defeat, Wessex must have been long in a state of weakness and prostration; but it had recovered its former

¹ Aubrey, in his *Mon. Brit.*, actually calls Wanborough by this name.

² I have ever considered this word as exhibiting the true etymology of Wansdyke. (Vide Salisbury Vol., Arch. Institute, p. 28, n.) From some expressions that occur in Mr. Scarth's paper on "The Course of the Wansdyke" (*Som. Arch. J.*, vol. vii, Part II, p. 16), a hasty reader might be led to infer that I adopted Stukeley's etymology, which every Saxon scholar must repudiate. It is a speculation of Grimm, in which he is followed by Kemble (*Sax. in Engl.*, i, 52 and 343), that Woden, like Mercurius, was the god of boundaries. The Latin Mercurius, the Greek Hermes, and his prototype, the Saramaya of the Sanscrit hymns, were all of them supposed to have the superintendence of boundaries; and as they all three presided over the planet Mercury, with which our own Woden was connected, it is a reasonable conjecture that Woden is the English representative of these divinities, and as such partook of their attributes. This hypothesis will account for the names both of Wanborough and of Wansdyke.

power when, A.D. 643, Cenwalh became its king. His repudiation of his wife, the sister of Penda king of Mercia, the invasion of Wessex by that monarch, the expulsion of Cenwalh, his conversion to Christianity during his exile, and his return to his kingdom by the aid of his kinsman Cuthred,—are matters of history, and need not here detain us. It was four years after his return from exile, and in the ninth year of his reign, that he began the career of conquest which brings him into connection with our present subject.

From Malmesbury we gather that, after the expulsion of Cenwalh, the Britons, emboldened, it would seem, by the opportunity, and ill brooking the condition to which they had been reduced, made attempts to throw off the supremacy of Wessex.¹ The steps by which Cenwalh reasserted English dominion, and effected the final subjugation of the Britons in the north of Somersetshire, are recorded in the following entries of the Chronicle :

"A. 652. Now Cenwalh fought at Braden Ford (Bradford) by Avon.

"A. 658. Now Cenwalh fought against the Weals at the Pens (æt Peonnum), and drove them to the Pedride (Parret)."

It will be seen that the Chronicle does not mention the enemy with whom Cenwalh fought at Bradford. But we know of no enemy he was engaged with, after his return from exile, but the Welsh ; and it would be difficult to say what other adversary he could encounter in that locality.² The battle "at the Pens" must have made the whole of Somersetshire north of Selwood English ground ; and the Welsh, who up to the period when Cenwalh began his conquests, had been living in the neighbourhood of Bath, must either have retired southwards, or been absorbed in the English population which followed the tide of conquest. We have to inquire what were the boundaries which separated the Welshmen of this district from their English neighbours during the interval that elapsed between the conquests of Ceawlin and these later conquests of his successor Cenwalh.

It was for a long time, and I believe it still is,³ the prevalent

¹ De Gestis, i, 2.

² There would not be room for doubt on the subject, but for the expression of Ethelwerd, "bellum gessit civile." Little weight, however, is due to the statements of this writer at any time ; and his ignorance is more than usually conspicuous in this part of his narrative. He actually mistook the name of the place where the second battle was fought, for that of an English king,—"*Cenualh et Peonna reges bella restaurant Britannos adversus.*"

³ The latest notice of the subject I have met with is contained in a paper

opinion among our antiquaries, that the Wansdyke was the southern boundary of Ceawlin's conquests. The doubts I had long entertained as to the correctness of this opinion were strengthened on reading the account of the survey of the Wansdyke which Sir R. C. Hoare has given us in his work on North Wiltshire. After tracing the dyke over certain meadows to Englishcombe church, he tells us: "In the two uppermost of these fields, called 'farther' and 'hither' home grounds (cattle), the ridge is very grand and perfect. At the head of the latter of these grounds I observed another bank and ditch steering towards Wansdyke from the south-west." (*North Wills*, p. 25.) I took the earliest opportunity that offered itself, after reading this passage, of examining the bank and ditch referred to, and found them extending the whole length of the "hither home ground," alongside of, and nearly separated by a hedge from, the lane leading thence to English Batch. The vallum was some four feet high, and the ditch was *to the westward*. On leaving the "hither home ground," the dyke¹ crossed the lane, and, entering a ploughed field, was lost. I followed its direction in the hope of finding some other portion of it; but the season was an unfavourable one, the trees being in full leaf;² and it was not till I reached Wallsmead, some six miles south of Bath, that I recovered any traces of the object I was in search of. Eastward of the homestead of this name, a stretch of meadow sweeps over a small combe, and then rises to the ridge overlooking the great valley in which lie Medyat and Camerton. Here, just where I had expected to find it, on the very line of watershed separating the drainage of the Frome from that of the Avon, I discovered a fragment of the dyke. It was but a

written by the Rev. F. Warre, a gentleman who has made the earthworks of the west of England his particular study. He thinks Ceawlin "probably extended his conquest to the coast of the Bristol Channel, somewhere between Portishead and Weston-super-Mare." (*Som. Arch. Journ.*, 1856 and 1857, Part II, p. 50.) At some point of the coast between these two places the Wansdyke, according to the generally received opinion, terminated its course.

¹ The Anglo-Saxon term *dic* was used both as a masculine and as a feminine substantive; and it was a suggestion of Kemble's that, in the former case, it might signify the vallum, and in the latter the foss or ditch. *Dyke* is its modern representative in the north, and *ditch* in the south of England; and our ordinary English employs the first of these words to signify the vallum, and the other the fossa. But in the north *dyke* is used in both these senses, as is *ditch* in our southern counties. A portion of the Fleam Dyke, near Cambridge, is still called "High Ditch" by the peasantry.

² The proper season for these investigations is the winter or early spring. A wood which, at such a time, might be satisfactorily explored in half an hour, would at another season require a day's searching before it yielded up its secrets.

fragment, for the grass land narrowed to a point on reaching the ridge; but though the dyke was on the very verge of the descent into the valley, its ditch was to the westward, and I felt convinced that it formed part of the line of earthwork I had been examining at Englishcombe. A belt of trees that had been planted on it¹ was continued some three hundred yards into the ploughed field immediately adjoining it to the northward; and I had little doubt that when the belt was planted, the dyke was, for the whole of this distance, a conspicuous feature in the landscape, and as such gave name to the adjacent pastures.

My search south of Wallsmead was not very successful, as might, perhaps, have been expected with so little to guide it; but I examined Wallscombe, near Wells, with care, and discovered in its neighbourhood what I believe to be another portion of the dyke. About half a mile west of the picturesque hollow which bears this name of Wallscombe, there is an occupation-road leading from Pens Hill farm down to the turnpike road from Wells to Bristol. The lower part of this occupation-road passes between high banks covered with gorse. The westward bank is formed by the natural slope of the ground; but that to the eastward is evidently artificial, and might be thought at first sight to consist of mere heaps of mud and filth thrown out of the hollow way beneath it for the convenience of passage. But a careful examination convinced me such was not the case; and when I found a little farther on mounds of earth in a direction where the dyke might pass, and the road did not, I felt satisfied that I had been examining a portion of "the wall," though in a state of much degradation. On Salisbury Plain, Marlborough Downs, the Chiltern, and other districts where the surface of the ground has been little disturbed, we frequently find ancient trackways entering into these boundary ditches, and running along them, sometimes for considerable distances. Before the enclosure of Pens Hill, now some seventy or eighty years ago, I believe one of the ancient trackways leading up to it ran along the ditch which accompanied the vallum, and that the present occupation-road, in some part at least of its course, coincides with such trackway.

¹ The habit of planting rows of trees along the course of these boundary dykes seems to have been very prevalent during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. It would have been well if the same respect for antiquity had been exhibited by some of our modern landowners. The wanton destruction of these monuments, which has been so general during the last ten or fifteen years, is certainly not creditable to those who might have prevented it.

In the neighbourhood of Wallscombe is the mineral district of the Mendip. The high value set on the lead mines of that district, in times immediately preceding those we are treating of, is manifest from the pains which must have been taken in carrying through an intricate country the Roman road which led to them from Old Sarum. Nothing was more natural than for Ceawlin to insist on the possession of these lead mines; and if it were conceded to him, no line of demarcation could be drawn which would more neatly or more effectually secure his object than the one we have been describing. Lead mines are now working immediately to the west of this line, but I know of none to the eastward; while the vallum proceeds from Englishcombe towards the coveted mines in a course as direct as the water system of the country would allow, with any regard to the mutual convenience of the parties.

That such boundary line did at one time separate the two races, is strongly indicated by the topography of the district. Close to the supposed boundary, and on what has been considered to be the English side of it, are Englishcombe and Englishbatch,—and I would ask, whence could these names originate? Certainly not from any proprietor bearing the name of English; for Englishcombe is mentioned in *Domesday*, which was compiled before surnames were known in England; and the only way in which I can account for their origin, is by supposing that the places they indicate were inhabited by Englishmen at a time when an alien race were living in the immediate neighbourhood. There is, I think, a fair and reasonable presumption that, by the terms of the settlement between Ceawlin and the Welsh princes, the latter retained possession of the Frome valley, and raised the dyke we have been endeavouring to trace, as the line of demarcation between them and the formidable strangers who had invaded their country.

The name of another locality in this neighbourhood may deserve a passing notice. West of Englishcombe, and at the foot of the strong earthwork now known as Stantonbury, is a village called Merkbury, *i.e.*, the burgh or fortress of the March. Here, or perhaps in the adjacent earthwork, the kings of Wessex may have kept a guard to watch over the marches, and to punish any Welshman who might cross the dyke to “lift” the cattle or other property of their English neighbours.

If we admit the premises, the boundary line south of Bath is a very obvious one. At Wookey Hole, near Wells, rises the Axe, which is the drain of the marshes lying south of the Mendip; and along this river, from its mouth to its source, the boundary must have run, then along the vallum by Wallscombe

and Wallsmead to Englishcombe, and then along the Wansdyke¹ to the river.

Our knowledge of the boundary north of Bath must be gleaned mainly from a passage to be found in the *Eulogium Historiarum*. This well known MS. was written, as the scribe informs us, in the year 1372, and by command of a certain prior. Leland, whose notice of its contents has been the chief means of drawing public attention to it, considered it to be a Malmesbury MS., written by some monk of Malmesbury at the command of some prior of Malmesbury; and though the opinion has been controverted, I believe it to be in the main a correct one.² The following is the account the *Eulogium* gives us of the foundation of the great monastery which has conferred celebrity on the name of Malmesbury:—

"There was in Ireland (Scotia)³ a certain monk named Meildulf, who was so harassed by thieves and robbers in his own country that he could hardly live. He, seeing that he could not long remain there, took to flight, and came as far as England. As he was surveying the country, and thinking how God would dispose of him, he at last took up his quarters under the Castellum of Bladon, which in the Saxon tongue was called Ingelbourne Castle. This castellum was built by a certain British king (the eighteenth from Brutus) by name Dunwallo, and by surname Molmuncius, six hundred and forty-two years before the Incarnation. There had formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners (*alienigenis*); but the castellum, being a fortified building, maintained itself, and stood there a long time after the Incarnation without having any dwelling near it. The king's residence, and the manor belonging to it, were, both in the pagan and in Christian times, at Kairdurburgh, which is now called Brukeburgh, or otherwise Brokenbern (Brokenberh). The hermit aforesaid, by name

¹ The Wansdyke seems, like other portions of the boundary line, to have been known at one time as "The Wall." I learn from my friend, Mr. Dickinson of Kingweston, that the neighbourhood of the house known as "The Cross Keys," immediately south of Bath, and situated on the very line of the Wansdyke, is called in certain maps "The Wall-Tynning." He also informs me that, in the language of the district, *tynning* means a "close"; so that *wall-tynning* is equivalent to "wall-close."

² Since this question was argued at Bath in 1858, it has been elaborately discussed in the edition of the *Eulogium* lately published by the Treasury Commissioners. The editor has been led to the same conclusions as myself.

³ Whether we should translate Scotland or Ireland depends on the question whether the writer of the MS. was using the language of his own century, or merely transcribing from an ancient MS., one that might probably date from Anglo-Saxon times.

Meldulf, selected for himself a hermitage beneath the castellum, having obtained permission from the men in charge of it, for there was not much resort of people there; and when the necessities of life began to fail him, he collected round him scholars to teach, that, by their liberality, he might mend his scanty commons. In a short time these scholars so learning the rudiments, swelled into a small convent," etc. (c. 92.)

From another passage in the *Eulogium* we learn that, besides his work at Malmesbury, Dunwallo built castella at Laycok and Tetraonburgh. Laycok is, of course, Laycock on the Avon; but the locality of Tetraonburgh has not yet been ascertained.

The writer of the *Eulogium* took his very absurd chronology from Jeffrey; but I think no critical reader will doubt that the main facts of his story must have been derived mediately or immediately from authorities that were contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the foundation of the monastery. We may, I think, safely infer that when Maildulf visited the place, he found an English guard posted in a certain castellum said to have been built by a Welsh prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd;¹ that the castellum was surrounded by the ruins of Caer Bladon,—or, as we now term it, Malmesbury,²—which still lay waste as the *alienigeni*, or, in other words, our ancestors had left it a century before; and that the king's steward—who, by the bye, was an officer of rank and dignity—resided at Caer Dur, or Brokenborough,³ and held the surrounding district as part of the royal demesne. The brook flowing by Brokenborough seems to have been known to the Welsh as the Bladon,⁴ and to

¹ This name is well known to Welsh legend. The Latinized form, Dunwallo Molmutius, was probably first used by Jeffrey. Had the name been Latinized at an earlier period, the first element, now represented by *Dyvn*, would no doubt have taken the shape of *Domno*. In adopting the chronology of Jeffrey, the writer of the *Eulogium* seems also to have adopted his nomenclature.

² The old English name for the place was Maildulfisbury, of which Malmesbury is the corruption.

³ The name of Brokenborough is what may be called "suggestive." We readily picture to ourselves the king's steward settled in the Welsh town, brewing his ales, salting his marts, and busily storing up wheat in his granaries, to be provided against the next occasion when his master shall pass down the Foss from Cirencester to Bath; and at the same time we see the breach by which our ancestors first entered Caer Dur, still unrepaired, though a Welsh garrison is lying only two miles off, in the castellum at Caer Bladon. It is the old story,—that contempt of enemies which has ever been characteristic of our countrymen, and which, if it has often led them to victory, has sometimes entailed upon them very humiliating reverses.

⁴ The Welsh name of the river was sometimes used by the monks of Malmesbury. (Vid. C. D., No. XI.)

the English as the Ingelbourne;¹ and hence the castellum built at its junction with the Avon was called by the English Ingelbourne Castle. I think we may further gather that when our ancestors sacked *Caer Bladon*, A.D. 577, the Welsh still maintained themselves in the castellum; and that as the Brokenborough brook took the name of Ingelbourne (that is, the brook of the Engle), the *other* brook (that is the Avon) was considered as belonging to the Welsh. Some time must have elapsed before the name of Ingelbourne was generally accepted in the neighbourhood; and as it is stated that Brokenborough was the seat of the royal manor during both the heathen and the Christian periods, there is a fair presumption that the Welsh and English were neighbours to each other at Malmesbury during the whole of the interval that elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's conquest and that of Cenwalh's.

Here, then, we have two fixed points: the one near Bath, where the Wansdyke reached the Avon; and the other at Malmesbury. The question is, how were they connected? Now, at the point where the Wansdyke reached the Avon, there is, on the opposite bank, a succession of high, steep bluffs, Farley Down, King's Down, etc., which, as they trend northwards, form the eastern side of the Box valley. The valley gradually narrows into a ravine,—one of those singular rents which characterize the outcrop of the oolite,—as it were a natural ditch some two hundred feet deep, and even at the present day one-third filled with forest. Along this valley the boundary must have run to Castlecombe, where there is reason to believe was once a Roman station, and thence over the open to Malmesbury.

I have not examined the country between Castlecombe and Malmesbury in search of the dyke which, no doubt, at one time crossed it; for an open country that has been under the plough for a thousand years, holds out little encouragement to the explorer. But estates lying in this district are the subject of several charters; and in the description of the boundaries we find references to a "*vetus fossatum*," to a "*fossatum quod appellatur dych*," etc. If these boundaries were thoroughly investigated, there would, I think, be a fair probability of our lighting upon some fragments of the ancient ditch which, at the period in question, must have separated the two races.

To the north-east of Malmesbury are to be found the scanty remains of Bradon Forest. When disafforested, in the time of Charles I, it reached eastward as far as Cricklade; and in the eighth century it seems to have touched, in the opposite direc-

¹ Vid. the boundaries of Brokenborough. (C. D., No. 460, vol. iii, p. 447.)

tion, upon Malmesbury; for the historian of that name informs us that it was the beauty of these woodlands that induced Maildulf to select the place for his residence: "Nemoris amœnitatem quod tunc temporis immensum eo loco succreuerat captus eremiticam exercuit."¹ From Bradon a line of forest seems to have stretched almost uninterruptedly to Selwood. It must have run nearly parallel to, and in some places immediately beneath, the chalk hills which bound to the westward the bleak upland known as Salisbury Plain. Large masses of natural wood are still to be met with along this line of country; and tracts now denuded of timber, still bear names such as Melksham Forest, Blackmore Forest, Pewsham Forest, etc., which plainly indicate their former character.

On the line of this natural boundary, on the very brow of the hill looking down upon the basin of the Avon, stands the town of Devizes. The etymology of this name has given rise to much absurd speculation; but is not, as it seems to me, very far to seek. The continuator of Florence² and William of Newburgh³ both call the place *Divisæ*,—a word which is found used in our charters as the technical term for boundaries from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The probability is, that the district where the Roman road leading from London to Bath stooped down into Welsh territory, was known as "the borders"; and that when Devizes was founded in the twelfth century, it took its name from the district, and was called *Divisæ*, according to the phraseology of the period. A Cistercian monastery in Northamptonshire, which was also founded in the twelfth century, was called *De Divisis*, either because it lay on the borders of Rockingham Forest, or because the forest itself was looked upon as constituting the "*divisæ*" or borders of the county,—certainly not for either of the foolish reasons which are given us in the *Monasticon*. Devizes is, of course, nothing more than a barbarous Anglicism for *Divisæ*.

Further south, at the extreme angle of Salisbury Plain, and immediately adjoining to localities which still exhibit very remarkable traces of British occupation, we meet with the village called Mere. This name is no less significant and appropriate than that of Devizes; and may, indeed, be considered as the English equivalent of the Latin word.

It may be thought strange that the Welsh should retain a tongue of land some forty miles long by fourteen broad, in the midst of a country which had become English territory. But

¹ De Pontificibus, lib. v.

² Flor. Wig. Chron., ii, 126. Hist. Soc. Publ.

³ Hist. Anglic., b. i, c. 6.

everything tends to shew us that these anomalies were of frequent occurrence in the territorial arrangements of the period. After one of these dreadful inroads of which we have spoken, the open country—more especially in the neighbourhood of the great roads—must have presented a scene of desolation, over which our ancestors moved as masters ; but scattered here and there must have been towns, castella, and forests, in which the wretched inhabitants had taken refuge, and where they still maintained themselves. In resettling the boundaries, the great problem would no doubt be how to unite these scattered localities with other Welsh territory, so as least to encroach upon the districts which the sword of the foreigner had won. The difficulty was not badly met in the case before us. The main lines of communication, to wit, the Roman roads leading from Cirencester to Bath and Winchester respectively, were yielded up to our ancestors ; but the wooded valleys of the Frome and the Avon were left in the possession of their old inhabitants. The new frontier may have been a weak one along the “Wall” from Wallscombe to Englishcombe, and again from Castlecombe to Malmesbury ; but in every other part of its course it was a line drawn by the hand of nature herself, and as strong as hill, forest, or marsh, could make it.

In following out these speculations, the questions naturally arise,—who were the British princes that negotiated the treaty which resulted in all this parcelling out of territory ? who the British king that led his Welshmen to the fierce fight upon the plains of Wanborough ? who the leaders that withstood Cenwalh at Bradford and at “The Pens” ? These are fair and reasonable questions ; but they are not easily answered. In the whole course of our national history there is no period in which the fortunes of the British race are involved in more bewildering uncertainty than the one we are now concerned with ; still, however, there are some glimmerings of light which, if rightly used, may help to guide us : and contemptible as is the authority of Jeffrey’s work, considered as a history, yet it may possibly contain legendary matter that will be of service to us in the inquiry.

This fabler traces the line of Brutus through a long series of British kings till it terminates in the death of the two brothers Ferrex and Porrex. Then we are told, after some interval a certain young man, named Dunwallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, Duke of Cornwall, rebelled against the King of Loegria (England), and made himself King of Britain. This Dunwallo constructed roads, compiled the celebrated code of laws which bears his name, and died leaving two sons, Belinus and Brennus.

Civil war arose between the brothers, the latter of whom was aided by the King of Denmark. They were, however, at last reconciled; and Brennus passed over to the Continent, and after various adventures took Rome,—was, in short, the Brennus whom Livy has made famous. Belinus left his kingdom to his son, Gurguntius Barbtruch, a mild prince, but a man of spirit; and when the King of Denmark refused to pay the customary tribute, Gurguntius attacked him, and after many fierce battles compelled him to submit, etc.

We have already observed that a prince named Dyvnwal Moelmyd (of which name, Dunwallo Molmutius is merely the Latinized form) figures largely in Welsh legendary history. He is commemorated in no less than four of the *Triads*; and not only are his laws represented as the groundwork of the celebrated code of Hywel Dda, but copies of them are said to be still extant in certain MSS., and have been more than once published. There is no character of early Welsh story that comes before us in a more consistent shape, or with circumstances that more nearly approach to historical probability. If we look merely to Welsh tradition, it seems difficult to suppose that Dyvnwal Moelmyd was a mere myth; and when we find the early accounts of Malmesbury ascribing to him the erection of the castellum at that place, and of two other castella in the neighbourhood, we can hardly help drawing the inference that he was a real personage, who before—and perhaps not long before—Ceawlin's inroad exercised a certain supremacy in that part of Britain. If we further suppose that certain loose traditions of his reign reached Jeffrey, we can easily understand how such a writer would feel little scruple in fixing him some four hundred years before Christ, merely in order to identify his son Brennus with the conqueror of Rome.

The hypothesis we have sketched out is indirectly supported by another and perfectly independent line of inquiry. *The Book of Llandaff*, in its present shape, is a compilation of the twelfth century; and some of the legends it contains may, perhaps, be of a date not long anterior to its compilation. But the charters it contains were certainly taken wholly or in part, literally, or with slight verbal alterations, from the Registry of the Cathedral; and from those charters we learn that the principal benefactors of Llandaff were certain princes who reigned over the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan in the following order,—Teithfalt, Tewdric, Meuric, Athruis, Morgan, etc.; and from the latter Glamorgan took its name, Gwlad Morgan (the country of Morgan). The charters which mention these princes never meddle with chronology, and the dates which have been

quite recently assigned to the reigns of some of them differ by centuries. Yet it seems easy enough to settle within narrow limits the periods when these princes must have lived. It appears from the charters that King Meuric was a contemporary of the two bishops Dubricius and Odoceus. Now, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Bishop Dibric (who must certainly be Dubricius) died A.D. 612; and according to the same authority King Iudris (who must certainly be the same person as Athruis) was slain in battle, on the banks of the Severn, in the year 632.¹ We may then conclude that his grandfather, Tewdric, was reigning over Glamorgan towards the close of the sixth century. The story which represents² this prince as leaving his hermitage on the banks of the Wye, to join the army of his son, King Meuric; of his defeating our ancestors, and earning a martyr's fate and fame in the moment of victory,—is, no doubt, familiar to the reader. In St. Teilo's legend,³ Mailcun, Tewdric, son of Teithpall; and *Gurgant Mawr*, that is, Gwrgant the Great,—appear among the earliest benefactors of Llandaff; and they are all three represented, according to the loose statements common to this class of compositions, as contemporaries of the saint. Mailcun is, of course, the celebrated Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of North Wales, whose death is recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 547; and Gurgantus Magnus, we learn from the charters, was father-in-law to King Meuric. If we suppose Teudricus and Gurgantus Magnus to have flourished during the half century which followed Maelgwn's death, we shall sufficiently meet the requirements of the story, such as it may be gathered from the disjointed notices contained in the charters and other trustworthy portions of the *Liber Landavensis*.

From the manner in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus is mentioned, it is evident he was a prince of high rank and dignity among his contemporaries. When Bishop Oudoceus returned to Wales from Canterbury, after his consecration, we are told⁴ that "King Meuric, with his two sons and his wife, Onbraus, daughter of *Gurgantus Magnus*, and the three abbots of the three monasteries, and all the princes of the kingdom," went out to meet him; and though the whole story be a fable, it may suffice to shew us the place which Gurgantus Magnus occupied in Welsh tradition. Again, in a certain charter,⁵ "Meuric, King of Glamorgan, son of Teudric, and his wife, Onbraust, daughter of *Gurgantus Magnus*," etc., gave certain

¹ The death of "Iuduris, king of the Britons," is recorded in the annals of Tighernach, under the date 633.

² Lib. Land., p. 133.

³ Ib., p. 111.

⁴ Ib., p. 125.

⁵ Ib., p. 132.

estates to Llandaff and Bishop Oudoceus; and, in another charter, estates in Gower are given to the same religious foundation by "Athruis, grandson of Gurgantus Magnus."¹ These princes of Glamorgan, though certainly among the most eminent in South Wales, seem to have been proud of their connexion with this great but mysterious personage. Yet we know not who or what he was, or where he lived, though we can give the genealogy of some half dozen petty princes who must have been his contemporaries. Every little district west of the Severn is provided with its "regulus"; and we are fairly driven across the Bristol Channel before we can find room for one who filled such a space in the eyes of his contemporaries. May he not have been king of Domnonia? the same Gurguntius Barbtruch whom Jeffrey represents as the grandson of Dunwallo Molmutius; and who, under the name of Gwrgan Varvtrwch, figures so largely in Welsh legend.

Welsh scholars who have annotated the *Liber Landavensis*, seem inclined to think that all the estates conveyed by the charters in which the name of Gurgantus Magnus occurs, were situated in Gower.² It seems probable that the supremacy of this king of Domnonia was acknowledged by the Welsh princes west of the Severn; and that the lands conveyed to Llandaff by his daughter and grandson were part of the royal demesne, which, as suzerain, he had a right to dispose of, and which he had given to his daughter on her marriage with Meuric. That the suzerain had power to make these territorial grants, may be inferred from the statement we find in Nennius, to the effect that Pascentius, son of Vortigern, received the territory called Guortigiaun, in Herefordshire, as a gift from Ambrosius, who was "king over all the districts of Britain" ("largiente Ambrosio qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britanniae"). Again, the *Liber Landavensis* contains a charter³ in which Pepiau, King of Ercyng, bestows on Llandaff and Bishop Dubricius an estate lying near the Wye, and described as "the gift (jaculum)"⁴

¹ Lib. Land., p. 136.

² The port of Swansea, which adjoins to Gower, must have been the chief means of communication between South Wales and Dumnonia; and therefore we can understand how the kings of Domnonia came to possess territorial rights in that neighbourhood. The intercourse between Swansea and the opposite coast seems to be still active. When I explored the district of Gower, some fourteen or fifteen years ago, I was much surprised at the great number of persons I met with who were natives of Somerset or Devon.

³ Lib. Land., p. 69.

⁴ I do not remember to have seen any other example of this word. Judging from the meaning given to the related word *jacto*, I infer that *jaculum*, in mediæval Latin, signified a gift or conveyance of property.

of his father-in-law, King Constantinus," who signs as one of the attesting witnesses. This charter precedes the two which make mention of Gurgantus Magnus, and must therefore, I presume, be of earlier date. I infer that, before the time of Gurgantus Maguus, the sovereignty of Constantinus was acknowledged west of the Severn; and that, by virtue of his sovereign power, he conveyed the estate in question to his son-in-law, King Pepiau.

"The conversion of Constantinus to the Lord," is a celebrated entry in the *Annales Cambriæ*, from which Tighernach appears to have borrowed it. The date attached to it, according to the calculation of the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, corresponds with the year of our Lord 589; but in the annals of Tighernach the entry appears under the date 588. The "conversion," if we may trust our later historians, meant simply a retirement into some monastery; and, according to Fordun,¹ into a Scotch monastery, though I suspect he drew this inference simply from having met with the entry in the Scotch, i.e., the Gaelic, annals of Tighernach.

Having viewed these dark and intricate questions by the light of Welsh tradition, and by the aid of such casual hints as are furnished us by the *Annales Cambriæ*, and by the charters contained in the *Liber Landavensis*, let us now turn our attention to the scanty but precious notices which have been handed down to us in the two works of Gildas—his Epistle and his History.

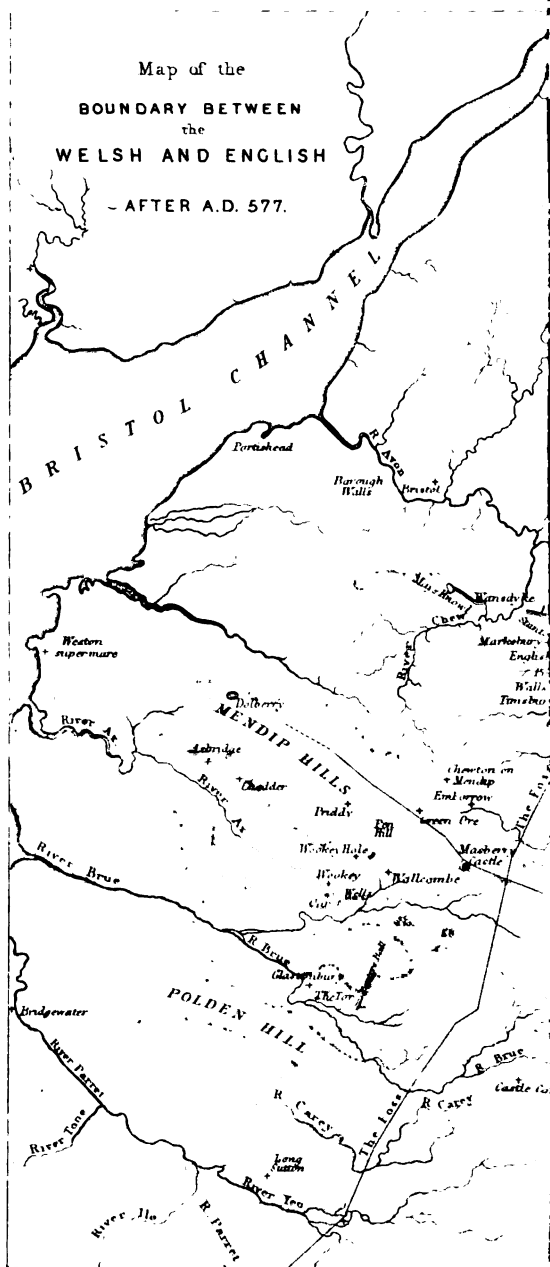
The Epistle of Gildas refers to Mailcunus as still living, and therefore could not have been written later than the middle of the sixth century. It could not have been written much earlier, for Gildas was born in the year of the siege of the Mons Badonicus, which was probably the year 520; and we cannot suppose the Epistle to have been written by a man much under thirty. In this work Gildas inveighs against five British princes by name: Constantinus, "the tyrannical whelp of the lioness of Domnonia"; Aurelius Conan, spotted like a leopard; Cuneglasus, who is reminded that his name signifies a tawny butcher; Vortiperius, "the aged tyrant of the Dimetæ";² and finally, "the island-dragon," Mailcunus, at once himself a tyrant and the uprooter of tyrants. We are told that Constantinus had that very year violated sanctuary, and murdered two royal youths in their mother's arms, and beneath the very "amphibalum" of the abbot; and that this was not his first crime, for

¹ *Scot. Hist.*, iii, 25. In the pages of Fordun "the sainted Constantinus, king of Cornubia," appears as a missionary and a martyr!

² That is, the people of Pembroke and the adjacent districts.

Map of the
 BOUNDARY BETWEEN
 the
 WELSH AND ENGLISH

- AFTER A.D. 577.



that many years before, lost in adulteries and sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife, etc. Aurelius Conan is bid take warning by the untimely end of his ancestors and his brothers ("patrum fratrumque"), and told that he is now but a barren stock. Cuneglassus and Vortiperius are not mentioned elsewhere, except in the veracious pages of Jeffrey. Mailcunus is the well-known Maelgwn Gwynedd, whose chief seat, Anglesey, no doubt suggested to Gildas the abusive epithet he applies to him.

The History of Gildas was written forty years after the siege of the Mons Badonicus, or about the year 560. It is in this work that we find Aurelius Ambrosius described as "courteous, mild, and true," as being of Roman descent, and as having lost in the disturbances of the time relatives ("parentes") who had *worn the purple*. The writer's meaning may not be expressed with all the precision we might wish for; but I think there is only one conclusion¹ that any critical mind can come to, viz., that Aurelius Ambrosius was a descendant of the two usurpers, Constantinus and Constans, who passed over into Gaul A.D. 407, and perished there four years afterwards.

Aurelius Ambrosius, there can be little doubt, was the same person as the Natanleod of the Chronicle,² and therefore must have perished A.D. 508. From Gildas' History we gather that, at the time it was written (i.e., some half century after the death of Aurelius), his descendants were occupying a large space in the public eye, though Gildas describes them as having greatly degenerated from the worth of their ancestors. Now, when we remember that the two princes whom Gildas in his Epistle makes the first objects of his invective, bore the names respectively of Constantinus and Aurelius, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were the descendants, however unworthy, of Aurelius Ambrosius; and when, moreover, we find Aurelius Conan reminded, in the same Epistle, of the untimely end of his ancestors and of his *brothers*, we are almost necessarily led to infer that he was the brother of the royal youths whom Constantine had murdered. Jeffrey makes Aurelius Conan the nephew of Constantine; but it will agree better with the tenor of our present speculations if we suppose him to have borne to him the relationship of great-nephew. It is clear from Gildas' narrative that the murdered princes were mere youths when slain by Constantine; and consequently, that neither they nor their brother Aurelius Conan could have had Owen Vinddu (of whom we shall speak shortly) for a father, if this elder brother of Con-

¹ Vid. Salisbury Vol., Arch. Institute, p. 49.

² *Ib.*, p. 58.

stantine died at the time we have elsewhere¹ supposed to be the case.

The scanty notice that is taken in Welsh legend of a man so eminent as Aurelius Ambrosius is very remarkable. It seems to have resulted mainly from the popularity acquired by Jeffrey's romance,—that unhappy work which is everywhere found darkening the pure light of our early history. Nennius tells us that Arthur was called "*map uter*" (the terrible boy), because he was cruel from his childhood; and Jeffrey having somewhere met with the phrase, and mistaking the adjective for a proper name, supposed it to mean "the son of Uther," and so called into existence that fabulous personage, Uther Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius Ambrosius, and the father of Arthur. Accordingly, and in open defiance of Gildas' History, he treats Ambrosius as a childless man, and passes on the sovereignty to this supposed brother, the mere creature of his own imagination. The *Triads* and other Welsh legends that mentioned Ambrosius, appear to have been altered with the view of accommodating them to these fables; and when a difficulty occurred, the name of the usurper Maximus (Maxen Wledig) seems very commonly to have been substituted for that of Ambrosius. Owen Vinddu, Peblig, Ednyved, and Cystennyn Goronawg, are represented as the sons of this Maxen Wledig,—a statement which it is impossible to reconcile either with Roman or with British history. But there are certain MSS.—for instance, the one translated by Probert—which make Owen Vinddu to be the son of Ambrosius. This hypothesis has nothing in it inconsistent with the known facts of history, and gives probability to the statement contained in the remarkable *Triad* which represents Owen Vinddu as one of the three *Cynweissiaid*,² or overseers; and whom, according to some MSS., all followed, "from the prince to the peasant, at the need of the country, on account of the invasion and tyranny of the foe." Cawrdav, son of Caradawg Vreichvras, was another of those who are said to have attained the perilous honour of being the nation's "overseer" under like circumstances.

We have, then, some authority—that is, such authority as Welsh tradition can furnish us with—for considering Owen Vinddu not only as the son, but also as the successor, of Ambrosius; and, indeed, there is a *Triad* which actually represents him as one of the three British kings who were raised to the throne by the general convention of the country. On the authority of the same *Triad* we may venture to consider Cawr-

¹ Salisb. Vol., Arch. Institute, p. 60.

² Myv. Arch., ii, 4.

dav, son of Caradawg Vreichvras, as one of those who attained the like dignity; and if we adopt this conclusion, it may be a support to the inference which other considerations lead us to, namely, that his father, Caradawg Vreichvras, was the son or other near relative of Owen Vinddu. The best informed Welsh scholars consider Caer Caradawg, so often mentioned in Welsh story, to be—not Salisbury, as Jeffrey represents it to be, but—the strong earthwork immediately adjoining to Amesbury (Caer Emrys); and its neighbourhood to, if not its identity with, the city of Emrys, or Ambrosius, seems to warrant the inference that, by virtue of his descent from this prince, Caradawg became lord of the important fortress that bore his name. Caradawg Vreichvras is celebrated as one of the three *cadwarcogion*, or battle-knights; and his prowess has been repeatedly the theme of Welsh eulogy. He must for some twenty or thirty years have fought the Welshman's battle, and borne the brunt of every hostile inroad.

The circumstance that Caradawg Vreichvras acted as one of Arthur's officers, need not lead us to distrust the conclusion that Caradawg was a descendant of Ambrosius. Alternations of power and dependence on the part of the great families seem to have been characteristic of the period; and there is reason to believe¹ that Vortimer, son of Vortigern, at one time acted as the lieutenant of Ambrosius, his father's rival. As to the origin and early career of Arthur, I have nothing to add to what has been stated elsewhere.² I know of no trustworthy authority that connects him with the family of Ambrosius; and I still believe him to have been elected the *dux belli* in a moment of danger,—probably on the death of Owen without children, or with children too young to meet the exigencies of the times. On the death of Arthur, Caradawg probably continued for some time to stem the tide of invasion in South Britain; and his son, Cawrdav, may have succeeded to the same perilous duty on the death of his father.³

The pedigree of Dyvnwal has been variously given by different writers. The tradition that makes him the son of Prydain,⁴ son of Aedd Mawr, etc., is mythical on the face of it,—for Prydain is evidently the eponyme of Britain; and that which makes him the son of Clydno, son of Prydain, etc., is merely another edi-

¹ Salisbury Vol., Arch. Inst., p. 53.

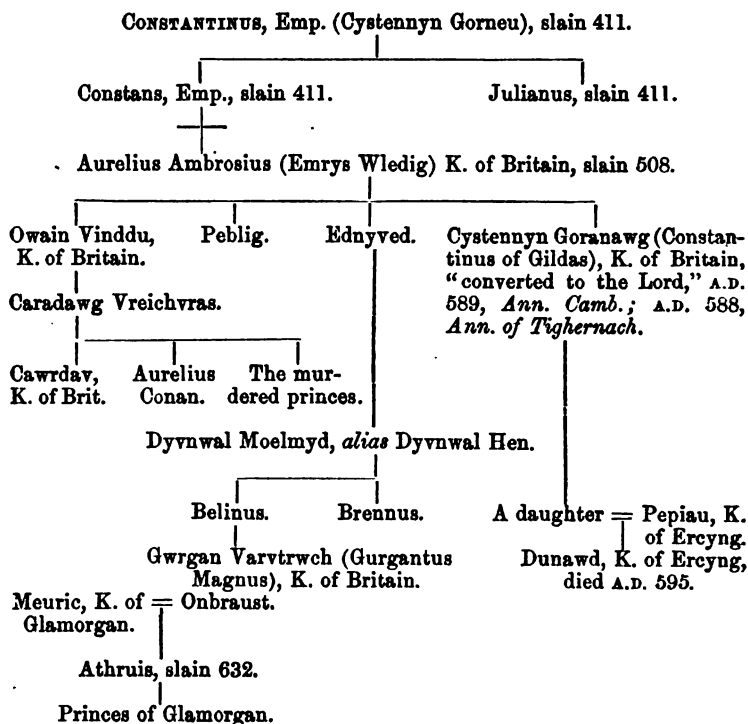
² *Ib.*, p. 67.

³ In the Salisbury Vol., Arch. Inst., p. 68, I stated that Caradawg probably lost his life at the battle of Cattraeth. It is the commonly received opinion; but considerations which I cannot here enter upon have convinced me that it is an untenable one. Caradawg Vreichvras could not possibly have been the Caradawg mentioned in the *Gododin*.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 67. *Triad* 58.

tion of the former one accommodated to Jeffrey's narrative.¹ But we are told that one Dyvnwal Hen (that is, Dyfnwal the Old) was the son of Ednyved, brother of Cystennyn Goronawg; and if we suppose—and the supposition has every probability in its favour—that Dyvnwal Hen was the familiar name assigned by tradition to Dyvnwal Moelmyd, then Dyvnwal Moelmyd must have been nephew of Constantinus and grandson of Ambrosius.

The reader will now understand the grounds on which the following scheme is constructed. It is an attempt to shew the pedigree and descendants of Aurelius Ambrosius; and is, indeed, little more than an enlarged edition of the scheme which was published in the *Arch. Journ.*, Salisb. Vol., p. 70.



¹ The oldest MS. of the *Dull Gwynnedd*, or N. Welsh version of the Laws of Hywell Dda, which was probably written in the twelfth century, contains the following notice of Dyvnwal Moelmyd: "Before the crown of London and the sovereignty were seized by the Saxons, *Diwynal moel mud* was king of this island, and he was son of the Earl of Cernyw (Cornwall) by the

I have, whenever it was possible, tested these speculations by the aid of chronology. It is a searching test; and in the present case requires to be applied with caution, and with a certain allowance for the imperfection of the instrument. The dates assigned to the events recorded in the *Annales Cambriæ* are calculated from an unknown epoch. It is probable that the several entries were taken from the Registry of some monastery, and that the "year one" indicated the year when the monastery was founded and the Registry commenced. Before we can know the real date of any event, we must ascertain from other sources the date of some preceding or subsequent event, and then add or subtract the number of intervening years. Unfortunately there is hardly a single event recorded in the earlier part of these annals whose date is known with perfect certainty. Even the relative dates are not always trustworthy. The Roman numerals which indicate these dates, are particularly liable to error in transcription; and it would be easy to shew that, in some cases, the copyists have blundered. The dates I have given according to the vulgar æra, are those calculated by the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; and though, as I have stated elsewhere, I consider them to be not altogether trustworthy, yet I believe them to be, in most cases, near approximations to the truth. The dates which are given in Dr. O'Connor's edition of Tighernach's annals are of course open to the same criticism.

The principal, if not the only difficulty in the scheme which has been submitted to the reader, relates to the age of Constantinus on his retirement into the monastery. Though we suppose him to have been left an infant at the death of Ambrosius, and though we take the most favourable dates the annals furnish us with, he must have been at least eighty years of age when he was "converted to the Lord." I do not shut my eyes to the grave objections which at first sight surround such a hypothesis; but formidable as is the difficulty, I may venture to ask, Is it an insuperable one?

Gildas wrote his *Epistle* before, but not very long before, the year 550; and in it he tells us that the murder of the princes was not the first crime Constantinus had committed, for that *many years* before, lost in adulteries and sins, he had repudiated his lawful wife.¹ We can hardly suppose that the prince so

daughter of the King of Loegyr (England); and after the male line of succession to the kingdom became extinct, he obtained it by the distaff, as being grandson to the king." (*Dull Gwynnedd*, cxvii.) Later MSS. make him the son of Clydno, Earl of Cernyw. These various notices of Dyvnwal are evidently fables originating in Jeffrey's History.

¹ Et hoc ne post laudanda quidem merita egit. Nam multis ante annis crebris alternatisque fœtoribus adulteriorum victus, legitima uxore contra Christi Magistrique gentium interdictum repulsa, etc.

addressed had not reached the period of middle life ; and the age which, on our hypothesis, must be assigned to him, namely some forty years, agrees well with Gildas' statement. Again, Dunawd, son of Pabo post Prydain, is celebrated in the *Triads* as one of the "three pillars of battle of the Isle of Britain." Pabo must certainly be the same prince as Pepiau, son-in-law to King Constantinus ; and the death of "King Dunaut" is recorded in the *Ann. Cambriæ*, A.D. 595. If we suppose that Dunawd was only thirty years of age at the time of his death, his grandfather, some six years previously, may very well have reached the age of eighty. These considerations may not lead to any very definite conclusion, but both point in the same direction ; both would lead us to infer that the wretched king was sinking under the weight of his years, no less than of his crimes and his misfortunes, when he sought refuge in the cloister.

With this explanation I believe the scheme that has been submitted to the reader's notice will answer all the fair requirements of the test it has been subjected to ; and I do not hesitate to express my belief that no such coherence of dates would be found in a story which had not, to say the least, a certain substratum of truth to rest upon.

Before we close the paper, it may be well briefly to review the conclusions to which these speculations lead us.

It would seem that, in the middle of the sixth century, when Gildas wrote his Epistle, Constantinus, youngest son of Aurelius Ambrosius, was lord of Domnonia, and gradually working his way, by a course of intrigue and violence, to the supremacy of Britain. We have grounds for the belief that he succeeded in this object of his ambition, though his success was soon followed by the revolt of his nephew, Dyvnwal Moelmyd ; and, as a consequence of such revolt, by the loss not only of Domnonia, but also of certain districts which belonged to the *civitas* of the Belgæ. Dyvnwal appears to have secured his conquests by the erection of castella, and to have established a wise and vigorous government. When the battle of Deorham was fought, the territory subject to this king—or, it may be, to his son and successor, Belinus—must have reached to within a few miles of Cirencester ; and to the lukewarmness or the disaffection of these princes, Ceawlin may have been in some measure indebted for his success. To the same causes may, perhaps, be attributed the comparative facility with which, as it would seem, the Britons in the neighbourhood of Bath came into an arrangement with our ancestors.

The British kingdom which Dyvnwal Moelmyd succeeded in establishing, took the name of the *civitas* which formed its

larger portion, and was called Domnonia. Under Gwrgan Varvtrwch it appears to have reached its greatest height of prosperity. The lord of the rich and beautiful district which stretched from Malmesbury to the Land's End, must have been little inferior to the King of Wessex himself, either in the extent or in the resources of his dominions. We have reasons for believing that the supremacy of Gwrgan Varvtrwch was acknowledged, probably on the retirement of his aged relative Constantinus, by such of the British chiefs as survived the ruin of their country; and it was probably under the leadership of this prince that the Britons fought in the great battle, the loss of which drove Ceawlin into exile,—at least, I know of no other event which tradition could have tortured into those successes against the King of Denmark ascribed by Jeffrey to Gurguntius Barbtruch.

In Gwrgan Varvtrwch I would also recognize the king of Domnonia, who is represented by Malmesbury¹ as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey. "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 601, a king of Domnonia granted the land in five hides, which is called Yniswitrin, to the old church there situate, at the request of the Abbot Worgret: "I, Bishop Mauron, have written this charter. I, Worgret, of the same place Abbot, have subscribed my name." Who the king was, the great age of the instrument prevents us from ascertaining; but that he was a Briton might be inferred from this, that he called Glastonbury, in his own language, Yniswitrin, for it is well known that it is so called by them in the British tongue. To Abbot Worgret, whose very name smacks of British barbarism, succeeded Lademund, and to him Bregored. The dates of their promotion are uncertain; but their names and rank are exhibited in the greater church, on the tablet by the altar. To Bregored succeeded Berthwald.

Here we have a king of Domnonia dealing *as such* with a portion of the Belgic province. It was not the sovereign of Britain, but the King of Domnonia, who made the grant; and I would ask whether this does not strengthen the conclusion to which we have been led by other trains of reasoning,—to wit, that some time in the sixth century the kings of Domnonia conquered certain tracts of Britain lying beyond the boundaries of their proper territories, and thus gave rise to the traditions on which Jeffrey based his story of the revolt and successes of Dunwallo Molmutius?

The direct male descendants of Gwrgan Varvtrwch—if, indeed, he left any—are unknown, for it would be idle to follow the statements of Jeffrey when not supported by independent testi-

¹ De Ant. Glast.

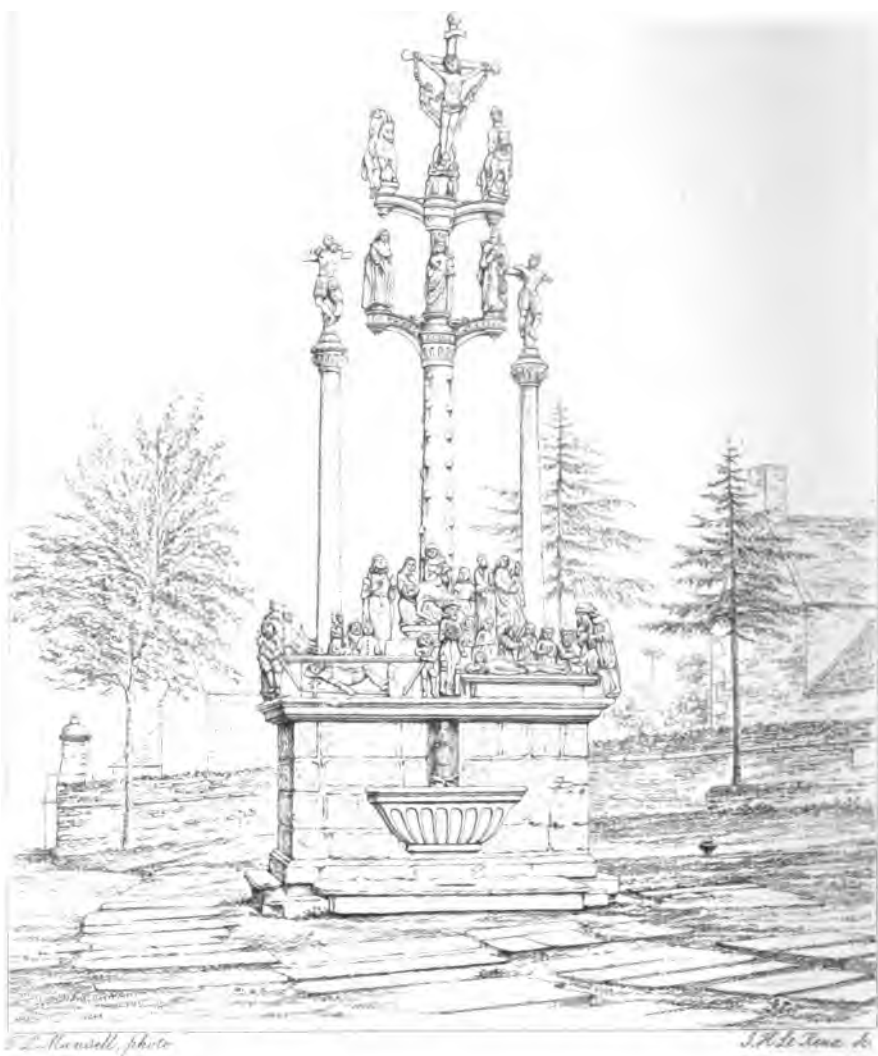
mony ; but we have ample proof that the descendants of his daughter, Onbraust, were reigning over the modern counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan for many generations. The first of his successors on the throne of Domnonia, whom history recognizes, is Gereint, the opponent of Ina, King of Wessex. In the days of Gereint, Domnonia, though stripped of half its provinces, must still have been, both in power and in dignity, the first of the British kingdoms. I cannot think that Aldhelm would have addressed any of the petty princes of Wales in terms like those he uses in the preface to the celebrated letter he wrote to Gereint on the subject of Church Discipline :

“To the most glorious Lord of the Western Kingdom, whom—He that searches hearts and weighs our actions is my witness—I love with brotherly affection ; to King Gerontius, and at the same time to all the priests of God scattered throughout Domnonia, Aldhelm, Abbot, etc., sends health in the Lord.”

The writer of this epistle was among the first, if not actually the first, of the learned men of Europe, and also a very near relative of Ina. Making all allowance for epistolary compliment, I think we may fairly draw the conclusion that a prince addressed in such language by a man so eminent, could have held no mean place among the crowned heads of that period.

It is not my object to trace the several stages of decay through which the power of Domnonia passed as it melted away before the ascendancy of England. The more intimate relations of this British kingdom were, no doubt, with the kindred races of Wales and Brittany ; but the influences it exercised over the national progress, and even over the literature of its English neighbours, were by no means of slight account, though they have hitherto been most strangely overlooked. They afford, I think, the only solution of some of the most intricate problems connected with our early history ; and the little attention which has hitherto been directed to the subject, can only be excused by a consideration of the great difficulties which surround the inquiry. Materials for such inquiry may be scanty, but they are not altogether wanting ; and if subjected to a searching criticism, might possibly yield results no less important than unexpected. May I venture to express a hope that some rays of light have been thrown on these dark passages of our history in the present essay ?

EDWIN GUEST, LL.D.,
Master of Gonville and Caius College.



The Calvary of St. Thégonew.

CALVARY OF ST. THEGONNEC, BRITTANY.

By the kindness of Dr. Mansell, of Guernsey, we are enabled to add a correct engraving of the calvary of St. Thegonnec (not St. Thegonnen), between Morlaix and Llandivisiau (Finisterre), to those which have already appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, namely, those of Guimillian ; St. Herbot, near Huelgoet ; Pen-cran, near Llanderneau ; Traon Houarn (Penmarch) ; and Plougastel Daoulas, the finest of all. This one of St. Thegonnec, although not so large as some others, yet has its figures extremely well executed, representing, as usual, the passion and burial of our Lord. A peculiarity, however, is to be observed in the introduction of two small figures beneath the arms of Christ. As usual, an altar is attached to the base or pedestal.

These monuments, which are almost peculiar to Lower Brittany, do not boast of any great antiquity, the earliest dating from the sixteenth century. The one of Notre Dame de Quilinen, in the parish of Brice, has been referred to a period as early as the fifteenth century ; but as in remote districts styles of architecture may have lingered after they had ceased elsewhere, it is probable that this is too early a date, and that the calvary in question must be referred to the sixteenth.

The erection of these monuments appears to have ceased about the middle of the seventeenth century, when they were replaced by the stations, which were originally built in the churchyard, as at St. Pol de Leon ; or on the slope of an adjoining hill, as at Beaucaire, in Languedoc ; or by groups of figures, either painted or sculptured, and affixed to the piers of the church, which have in their turn in small churches been replaced by coloured prints framed and glazed, often of very ordinary character.

In many parts of France exist the Fanaux de Cimetière, which, however, are not found in Brittany ; and

as these monuments, which date from the thirteenth century, seem to have ceased to be erected in the fifteenth century, the probability that they were succeeded by the calvaries, at least as regards Brittany, has been suggested. The two structures, which have nothing in common but the altar attached, are intended for uses so very dissimilar, that the conjecture can hardly be admitted. Connected with these calvaries is the reredos carved in wood, of somewhat later date, and which, in some respects, is even more interesting than the stone crosses; but a full and interesting account of these monuments by M. Perrot, of Nantes, will be found in the fourth volume of the present series, p. 254, to which we refer the reader.

E. L. B.

Ruthin.

MONA MEDIÆVA.—No. XXV.

RHOSBEIRIO.

THIS is one of three small chapelries dependent on Llanelian. The church is a single-aisled edifice, 42 feet by 18 feet 6 inches, situated within a small graveyard in the middle of a large field, and is one of the humblest ecclesiastical buildings in Anglesey. The walls are probably not older than the fifteenth century; the windows are all modern, and of the worst kind. The font is old; it consists of a circular basin, standing on four baluster-shaped legs of the seventeenth century. The chancel was, perhaps, separated from the rest of the church by a screen, and its roof is coved.

The church contains the following rude memento on a pane of glass in the west window.

"Repaired by the order of Rich^d Lloyd, Esq^r. By Mich^l Evans, Plumber and Glazier, from Llanerchymedd. July y^e 2nd, 1786."

There are no architectural features in this church worthy of delineation. It is under the invocation of

St. Peirio, who lived in the sixth century. He was a son of Caw, who is stated to have lived within this very Hundred of Twrcelyn, where he held lands bestowed on him by Maelgwn Gwynedd. The neighbouring chapel of Coedana, is under the invocation of Ane, his brother. Many interesting traditions concerning the family of Caw will be found in Rees's *Welsh Saints*.

BODEWRYD.

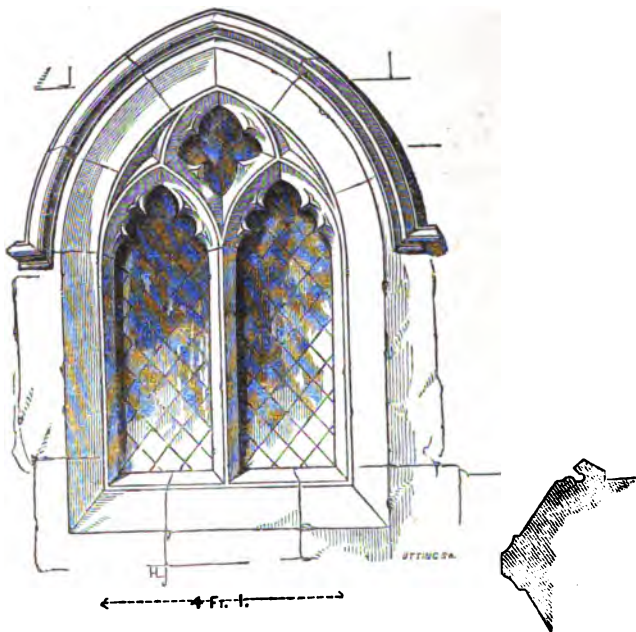
This is another chapelry of Llanelilian. The church is of the common single-aisled type, but has a chapel thrown out on the north side. The edifice is of the fifteenth century, with features of rather an earlier epoch; there is a doorway in the chapel with a circular head, in character nearly a century earlier than its actual date. The church is about 40 feet long by 20 feet wide, with a square-headed three-light window at the eastern end; the chancel is coved; the pulpit is of the seventeenth century, carved, and a pew to the eastward of it is ornamented with good napkin pannelling. The font is square, and apparently modern; there are no windows in the northern side, and only one of a single light in the southern; but in the western gable, under the bell-cot, is a trifoliated single-light window of the fifteenth century, of good design, rather elongated in form. Within the building is a small brass plate in a marble frame, commemorating Dr. Wynne, a kind benefactor to the parish in the last century. The patron saint is the Virgin Mary.

The church-yard is entered by a small lich gate, with a stepped gable, resembling that of Llanelilian, at the north-east corner. Near the church still remains a large square four gabled pigeon-house, marking the ancient residence of the Wynne family.

PENRHOS LLUGWY.

This is another of the small, single-aisled churches of the island, about sixty feet by twenty in external

dimensions; dating from the fifteenth century, and under the invocation of St. Michael the Archangel. The only architectural features of any importance are: the east window, a cinque-foliated double light, of good workmanship, of the same design and date as that in St. Eilian's chapel at Llaneilian; a plain-pointed doorway of early perpendicular character, in the north side, with a stoup; and a crossed bell-cot over the west gable. The font is a plain octagonal basin on two steps.



E. window, Penrhos Llugwy.

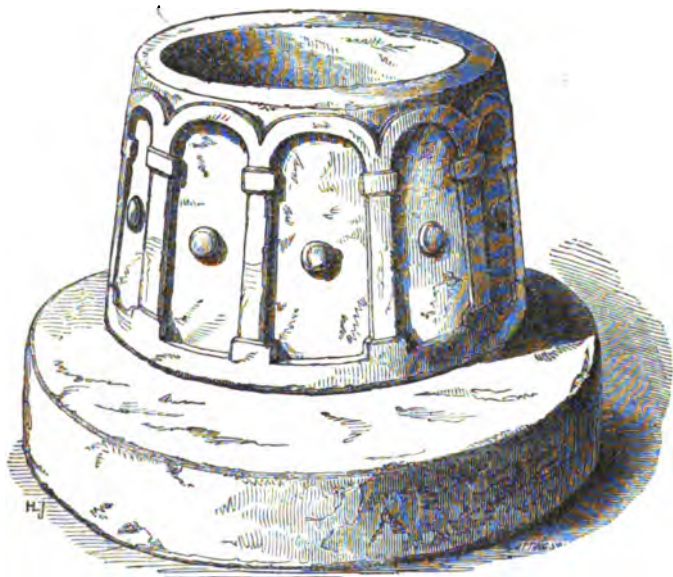
In the church-yard still stands the lower portion of the cross, on three square steps. Here, also, is an early inscribed stone, noticed elsewhere, bearing the words:—

**HIC IACIT
MACCVDECETI**

The walls of a detached chapel stand in the parish, but no architectural features remain to point out its date. Here too, is one of the largest cromlechs in Anglesey.

TALYBOLION. LLANDDEUSANT.

In this parish there is a small, single-aisled church, about 48 feet long by 20 feet wide, externally; erected in the early part of the fifteenth century, and under the invocation of the two saints, St. Marcellus and St. Marcellinus. The east window is of three lights, cinque-foliated under a drip. The other windows are of single lights, square-headed. The font is of a much earlier date than the church, being apparently not more recent than the twelfth century.



Font, Llanddeusant.

Belonging to the church is a small brass bell, probably of the fifteenth century.

The north and south doorways are both with circular heads, simply chamfered, of the same date as the rest of the building; and it may be here observed, that doorways of this kind, which are by no means unusual in

Anglesey, are effective in character, and well adapted for small edifices of this description.



Bell, Llanddeusant.

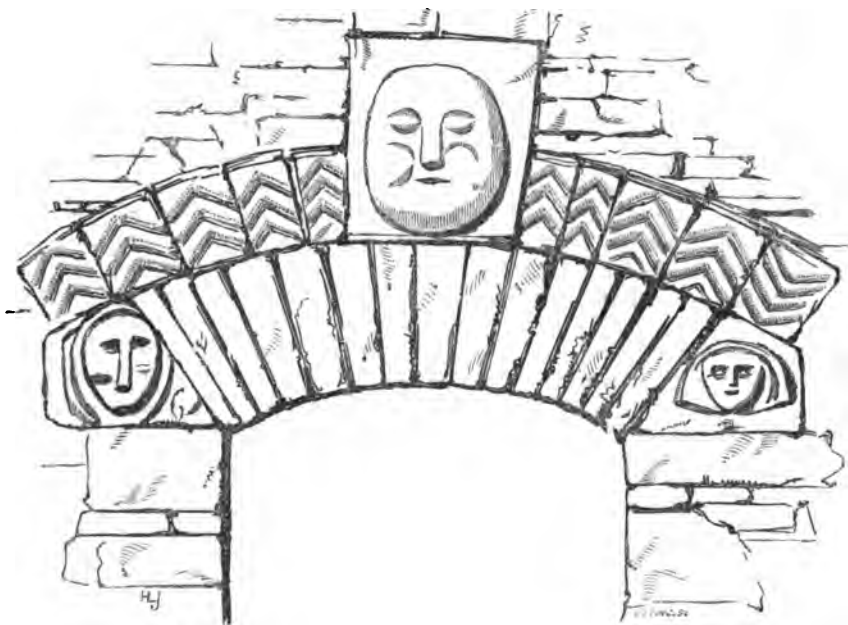
LLANBABO.

The church is single-aisled, 45 feet by 14 feet internally, with a chancel still marked off from the pews, though without a screen. The building as it stands is of the first part of the fifteenth century, but a portion of a former edifice remains in the south door-way, which is one of the earliest in Anglesey.

It would seem, from the irregular manner in which the zig-zag mouldings are put together, that this is but the fragment of a larger and more ornamented doorway, though the stones of the inner segmental arch appear as if in their original place and condition. The east window is of a single light, with a counter curve under a pointed head, instead of foliation, not without example in Anglesey. A small ambry occurs to the northward of it in the east wall. The font is a very early circular basin with sloping sides, on two steps, and of fine grit stone.

Against the wall, near the south doorway, is fixed the sculptured slab of which an engraving is annexed. It is of the fourteenth century, but is intended to commem-

morate the saint under whose invocation the church was erected, St. Pabo, called Pabo Post Prydain. This slab was noticed both by Rowlands in his *Mona Antiqua*, and afterwards by Pennant, but has never before been accurately delineated. The inscription is not so legible as it was in former days; otherwise it is in fair preservation.



S. doorway, Llanbabo.

Professor Rees in his *Welsh Saints*, has given so good an account of St. Pabo, that a full extract from his pages is subjoined :—

“ It appears that upon the progress of the Saxon arms in the south of Britain, the families of Coel Godebog and many others retreated to the north,¹ where, as in Wales, the Britons endea-

¹ “ The cause of this migration, which is more probably due to internal warfare, is here given in accordance with popular opinion, as the subject requires a more extensive investigation than could be included within the limits of this essay. The slow progress of the Saxons has been well described, according to their own authorities, by Mr. Sharon

voured to concentrate themselves. Here, however, they were obliged to maintain an unequal contest with the Picts on one side and the Saxons on the other. And though the Britons of Cumberland, and more especially those of Strath Clyde, maintained their independence for some two or three centuries, the chieftains of other districts were not equally fortunate; and when stripped of their territories by the continual aggressions of the invaders, their practice was to seek an asylum in Wales, and, in several instances, to devote their lives to the service of religion. Of the latter description was Pabo Post Prydain, the descendant of Coel in the fourth degree. He first distinguished himself as a brave warrior, but eventually he was obliged to give way and leave his territory in the north. He sought refuge in Wales; and was hospitably received by Cyngen ab Cadell, the prince of Powys, by whom he had lands given to him. He afterwards lived a holy life, and was accounted a saint of the British Church. To these particulars may be added, from the Cambrian Biography, that he married Gwenaseth, daughter of Rhufon of Rhufoniog; which is more consistent with chronology than the statement of others who assert that Gwenaseth was the wife of Sawyl, his son.¹ Pabo is considered to be the founder of Llanbabo in Anglesey,² where a stone still remains, bearing his effigy, with the following inscription,—HIC JACET PABO POST PRUD CORPORS TE PRIMA. The author of *Mona Antiqua* is of opinion that he was the earliest saint in that island, though it is clear from other authorities that some of the children of Brychan must have preceded him. His commemoration is November 9."

H. L. J.

Turner; and it is remarkable that the Welsh records of the sixth century allude to but few instances of conflict with that people. Between them and the Cymry, from whom the Welsh are descended, another race of Britons, alike hostile to both, intervened. They were called Lloegrwys, and appear to have been incorporated with the Saxons upon the establishment of the kingdom of Mercia."

¹ "Cambrian Biography, *voce* 'Gwenaseth'; and 'Asaph' in Bonedd y Saint, Myv. Archæology, vol. ii."

² "As Llanbabo is now a chapel subject to Llanddeusant, it must be supposed that some change has taken place in the relative condition of these edifices, if Pabo was the founder of the first of them. It is possible, however, that the chapel was built over his grave at a later period, and dedicated to him. The stone monument alluded to was discovered, in the reign of Charles the Second, by the sexton while digging a grave; and an engraving of it is given in Rowlands's *Mona Antiqua*, second edition."



Tomb at Llanbabo

RELIQUARY FOUND AT OAKHURST,
NEAR OSWESTRY.



AN interesting little reliquary or pendent ornament, was found during the last year at Oakhurst, near Oswestry. It is here figured. It is now in the possession of Mr. Venables, of Oakhurst. It measures nearly an inch and a half in diameter, and half an inch in thickness, including the gem with the collet, in which it was set. This ornament is of silver gilt, set with a large amethyst *en cabochon*, around which is engraved a radiated bordure with roses and cinquefoils at intervals; on the under side is engraved a figure of St. John the Evangelist, holding a chalice, his usual symbol. At the upper margin traces of solder appear, where doubtless was originally affixed a small loop or ring, by which it might be suspended to a shrine, to one of the limbs of a crucifix, or to some other sacred object, possibly as a votive gift; it may have contained some small relic. Its date is about 1450-60; it was probably made in this country. In the catalogue of benefactors to St. Alban's Abbey (Cotton. MS. in Brit. Mus. Nero 2, vii), numerous offerings occur termed *monilia*, and, as they are frequently represented in the margin, we see what was their form. It is recorded of king Richard II: "optulit feretro monile aureum," and the king appears holding just such an ornament as that found at Oakhurst; that is, a flat, round, jeweled object, like a small box.

Matthew Paris, who was a monk of St. Alban's, gave, among other things, " *Monile aureum, continens partem ligni dominici quod deosculatur die Parasceues et dependet a cruce aureâ per catenam argenteam in parte dextrâ.*"

The *monile* found at Oakhurst probably hung on the cross, *parte sinistrâ*, for it may not improbably be supposed that it may have been appended over the figure of St. John, which usually appeared at one side of the crucifix.

ALBERT WAY.

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

SPITTAL, PEMBROKESHIRE.

IN the churchyard at this place, and on the southern side of the sacred edifice, immediately against the eastern side of the entrance, by the porch, stands a tall stone of the porphyritic greenstone formation, from Preselau. It is nearly square in section, and of great regularity in form: its faces are smooth, though whitened by atmospheric influence; and on the southern side it bears the inscription of which we append an engraving. No Oghamic characters are to be observed on the edges; and from this circumstance, as well as from the character of the letters, and the formula of the inscription itself, we are inclined to place it among the earliest in Wales. It will be observed that the inscription runs in vertical lines, reading from left to right downwards; that the lines are neither parallel nor conterminal; and that the letters are somewhat debased, though still preserving much of a good Roman style about them. They have been originally cut rather finely, but are now much worn down by weathering, and are at first sight not quite so clearly perceived as they appear in the engraving. In the first line the letter O seems to have been the last in it, because the sinking away of the surface, with



an edge running across the stone, is evidently older than the letters themselves; and we are therefore inclined to consider the word to which this letter belongs as contained in the second line. The inscription is probably to be read thus:

**EVALI FILI DENO
CVNI OVENDE
MATER EIVS.**

It is of importance, first, for supplying us with three new names for early British history, viz., EVALUS or EVALIUS; his father, DENOCUNUS; his mother, OVENDE: and next, for the use of the somewhat rare formula constituting the last line, MATER EJUS.

The only difficulty in the inscription is with the second, third, and fourth letters of the second line; but the V and the N are conjoined in no unusual manner. The I is certainly placed very close to the O, and at first sight seems joined to it; but on closer examination it is found to be really distinct. With so fine a surface, and with such a homogeneous composition of the stone, it may be wondered why the letters were not all cut symmetrically, and arranged in strictly parallel lines. We can only see in their irregularity another instance of the disorganized state of intellect, taste, and art, during the unsettled times from whence this stone may be supposed to date. It may very well be of the fifth century. We see nothing improbable in throwing its age back to that remote period; and its nomenclature, like that of the stone at Stackpole, figured in No. XXVI, is, we believe, entirely new to the student of British history. The stone has been more than once coveted for a gate-post; but the inhabitants are now fully aware of its monumental value, are proud of it, stand about it, try to read it, and are determined to preserve it.

Spittal derives its name from an hospitium, now destroyed, but once standing on the ancient road from Carmarthen and Whitlands to St. David's. Several lines of road, most probably ancient, cross each other in the

very centre of the village; and one of them may possibly be part of the Roman road from *Maridunum* to *Menapia*, though this is commonly placed a few miles further north. A road near the church still bears the appellation of "Pilgrims' Lane."

PENBRYN, CARDIGANSHIRE.

We here give the delineation of a stone visited by members at the time of the Cardigan meeting. It stands on the farm of Dyffryn Beren, near Penbryn, about a mile from the sea shore; and is on a gently rising ground now under cultivation, called, as we learn from Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, "Parc carreg y lluniau." It was known to Edward Lhwyd, who copied its inscription; and it was then connected with a small carn of stones, from which probably it had been thrown down. Meyrick states that this carn was destroyed about two years before he wrote, or about 1806; and that some silver coins, with an urn containing ashes, were found beneath. We do not gather, either from what Meyrick says, or from Edward Lhwyd's account, where this small carn of stones actually stood. There is no trace of such an assemblage of stones in the field where it is now placed, except that one stone lies loose at its foot. If the stone is now in or near its original position, then it probably marked the grave of some chieftain slain in battle: if it stood close to the churchyard, it may have commemorated one who died in a time of peace. Now battles near the coast of Wales in early times, such as this stone belongs to, were fought between the natives and invaders, whether from Ireland, or from Scotland, or elsewhere; and therefore this stone, the inscription on which seems to refer to a native chief, may possibly have been inscribed in honour of some one who had died in defence of his country. Had he been a foreign enemy, he would have hardly been commemorated; and if the last word of the inscription be correctly interpreted (according to Edward

Lhwyd's supposition) as an abbreviation for *Ordovicus*, it would shew that it was carved by men of the tribes of South Wales, who had welcomed one from the north,



and had considered the circumstance of his origin worthy of note when they put over him this stone of honour. We infer that it is not a stone commemorative

of any one connected with Ireland, from the circumstance that there are no Oghamic marks on any of its edges, nor any Erse element in the name of the person.

We now come to notice the inscription. The letters are of the same style, and probably of the same date, as those on the stone at St. Dogmael's. None of them are conjoined to each other; none are minuscule; they are tolerably regular; they are not peculiarly debased; but they contain the common false Latinity of *jacit*. Edward Lhwyd, in his reading, separates the syllable *cor* from the succeeding letters; and interprets it as "the heart." Some of our members, when they visited the stone, took it as an abbreviation for *corpus*; but, judging from analogy, we are inclined to look on the first four syllables as making up only one word, the name of the deceased apparently in the genitive case; and the whole inscription as divided into three words reading thus:

**CORBALENGI IACIT
ORDOVS.**

Above the letter A in the upper line, we find a sharp and somewhat deep line incised into the stone from the edge. This is not an Ogham; but what it signifies,—if, indeed, it be not a mistake of the sculptor,—we do not pretend to say. Possibly it may have been cut as the beginning of a cross. Near it will be observed another diagonal incision. Both these cuttings are clean-edged and precise: the latter less so than the former. They are not made merely by the sharpening of tools; nor are they in any way like Oghams. A similar diagonal incision occurs on the great Oghamic stone at Bridell, and another on the stone at Cilgerran. They seem, however, as if they had been cut by mistake.

In the absence of more exact knowledge upon the subject, we must assign to this inscription the same date as that of the SAGRANVS stone already mentioned; and that date cannot but be placed in close proximity to the time of the Roman sway in Britain. If the last word be really what Edward Lhwyd took it for, then the

antiquity of the inscription receives a very great confirmation; for we do not think that this Romanized name of a British tribe could have remained in use among ecclesiastics, who no doubt cut this stone, long after the termination of the Roman power. The peculiar formula of this inscription is worthy of being noticed.

H. L. J.

Correspondence.

CARDIGANSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

LLANDEDEWI BREFI—TREGARON—LLANIO (LOVENTIVM).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—On the 17th inst. a party of members of our Association started from Lampeter on an archæological excursion to examine some of the antiquities in the vale of the Teivy. Several years before the same party had explored the hills on the N.E. side of the town lying between Llanycrwys and Cellan, over which passes the Roman road (*Sarn Helen*) from Llanvair ar y bryn to Llanio, as well as the numerous British remains with which those hills are covered. This latter class of remains, as exemplified in that locality, demands a description more detailed than can be given in this letter: suffice it to say that they are indicated on the Ordnance Map with tolerable completeness, and of course with accuracy of situation; that they are good of their kind,—carneddau, camps, and *meini hirion*; and that they were at the time of the visit in question tolerably well preserved. Since then enclosures have been made; and, as is *always* the case, surveyors and landowners have cared nothing for these remains, but have removed or used many of them with an utter want of knowledge, as well as without any necessity. The time may come, as people get better informed, when it will be thought an honour to have early British remains undisturbed on an estate; and when a landowner will be better pleased to have a *carnedd* lying untouched on his ground, than to boast that he obtained from it so many cartloads of stone for the adjacent wall. As things are at present, however, and judging from facts, Cardiganshire landlords seem to care little for antiquities, and their agents to know nothing about them.

One of the finest of the early British remains on these hills is an enormous erect stone—well known, by the way, to Edward Lhwyd—still called by preeminence *Hir Faen*, the long or tall stone; and it

merits its name, being about sixteen feet in height. It stands at the intersection of two boundary walls; but how it is that the landlords and the surveyors have allowed it to stand, instead of breaking it up, is almost inconceivable. Several large but low *carneddau* are on the hill above it; and the whole range for several miles is well worth exploring.

Over the ridge of this hill, coming up north from Cayo and Dolau Cothy (where, however, antiquities are really understood, cared for, and preserved), is the Sarn Helen. It does not run in a straight line, but winds considerably to take advantage of the ground. When at length it comes to the summit, in full view of the vale of the Teivy and of LOVENTIVM, then the line runs down nearly straight all the way to the eastern bank of the river by the lead mines above Llanfair Clydogau. About a mile and a half south-east from that spot, on the descent of the hill, there was, *at that time*, a small square Roman camp or station, in excellent preservation, close by the side of the road. It had formed, no doubt, a halting place on dry ground for travellers from LOVENTIVM, before they attempted to climb the hill; and in case of need would have well defended the beginning of the mountain road.

Just above this camp, for another mile or more, the pavement of the Roman road was in admirable preservation: twenty feet broad: well barrelled towards the middle: deep and regular. No better specimen existed anywhere in Wales. It was precisely this very portion, from Llanfair Clydogau to the crown of the ridge, that a bench of Cardiganshire magistrates, sitting at Lampeter, ordered to be destroyed a few years ago; and which was destroyed accordingly, to the regret of the surveyor of roads—an intelligent man—who was obliged to carry the order into effect! The circumstance has been more than once alluded to in our Journal. It is to be hoped that similar instances of want of thought and want of knowledge may not occur often again.

It may here be observed that this line of Roman road is easily traced, and that it is one of the most interesting in Wales. The starting point at Llanvair ar y bryn, where the original pavement still remains, coming down the steep little hill behind the vicarage, is clearly ascertainable. It may be followed more or less satisfactorily to Llan y crwys, and then becomes very visible. After gaining the flat ground on Teivy side, round LOVENTIVM, it is not so plain; but may be traced pretty well in winter, or in dry summers, and may be readily found on excavation. After leaving LOVENTIVM (Llanio) it ascends the rising ground very straight in its course, and may be followed some miles by Llanbadarn Odyn on its way to the Dovey, which it crosses to the station at Pennal, close by the small mound defending the ferry. All this line is well marked out on the Ordnance Map; and, whenever the Association revisits Cardiganshire, members can enjoy a successful hunt on the trail of the Romans all round Lampeter. It is mentioned here because it was examined on the day in question; and its track is still to be verified by the personal knowledge of all the farmers in the neighbourhood.

The church of Llanfair Clydogau was visited by us that morning. We remembered it some years ago, before it had been "repaired"; and fortunately some notes of it had then been taken. On the present occasion we found it, not restored—the word will not apply—we had rather use the common phrase of "done up," in the cheapest and ugliest manner that any building could experience. This church, as it stood a few years ago, though humble, preserved traces of fifteenth century work, and was capable of restoration in consonance with its original character at a small cost. It is now "done up" in the commonest meeting house style, with bad windows, and is altogether despoiled of every architectural feature.

Four miles further towards the north-east brought us to Llanddewi Brefi. Here the little village, grouped round the remains of its ancient monastic church, stands at the entrance of a grand valley, Cwm Foel-allt, down which rushes the Brenig from the eastern range of Cardiganshire hills,—that central ridge of mountains, the longest in Wales, curving round from Plynlymon to Precelly in a line of more than seventy miles, and extending in some parts to the breadth of twenty.

What first strikes the visitor here is a noble tower, second only to that of Llanbadarn fawr in massive dignity, crowning a mutilated church on the summit of a small eminence rising steeply from the river. You see on the northern and southern faces of this tower traces of transept roofs,—for it was a stately cross-church forty years ago; and you soon perceive the nave and chancel to be nothing more than modern erections on the site of old walls. In other words, the whole building has perished except the central tower. This was the work of Cardiganshire clergymen and landowners five and thirty years ago. They found it inconvenient to repair, much more to restore, this fine conventual church; therefore they pulled it down. They *would* have pulled down the tower also; but they found it too strong for them, so they left it perforce,—and there it still stands, one of the noblest towers in Wales. It is quite military in character, batters out boldly towards the base, has a square turret staircase at the north-east angle with a watch-place at the summit, high above the battlements; a low-pitched roof much out of repair, with decaying timbers and stone-flags, slate-mended, full of holes, for covering; with a noble belfry below not containing a single bell,—all neglected and degraded. This tower stands on four massive pointed arches of the fourteenth century, opening into nave, choir, and transepts, with a dome vaulted longitudinally, in the Pembrokeshire fashion, above: and this is all that remains of the old church. The rest of the building, not so good as a common meeting house, in bad repair, dirty and ugly, testifies to a bad state of feeling, to a wretched monotony of neglect: it is only a type of many other similar things in this part of Wales. On the floor in the chancel lies a large water-stoup. The ancient font is gone: a modern thing stands in its place, in a pew. The building is beyond cure. Nothing but total demolition of the modern portion can suffice; but it might be rebuilt for no very great sum of money, with some approach to its original state of severe but sublime simplicity; and the resumption of its original character would then satisfy

the heart and the eye of the worshipper. As it is, the building is not so good as the ordinary type of dissenting chapel to be met with all up down the country.

Yet here it was that the Synod of British Bishops met and condemned the errors of Pelagius: here it was that St. David stood and preached: there is the very hillock that tradition long pointed out to have risen beneath his feet: there, on the mountain side to the south, are the remains of the conventual house: there is still the *Ffordd y cantorion*, the old paved road, down which came the monks to chant their constant services in the great church: there, in the graveyard, are still the ancient crossed stones. They are all there; but the spirit of ancient devotion is fled,—and if any spirit remains, it is one of neglect and desolation. The voices of the chanters are no longer heard: the very place itself is known but to few. And yet what an admirable situation for some great ecclesiastical establishment! Why was not St. David's College, now at Lampeter, erected here? What a lamentable error to have missed the opportunity of resuscitating the recollections of this old historic spot! What a pity,—instead of again placing here a body of men and students to honour God with daily services,—to have taken down the church, and to have built up these wretched rooms in its stead!

In the south wall of the tower is a mutilated inscription, probably Roman, which may have come hither from Llanio.

In the graveyard, not many yards from this, is the fragment of a stone bearing a small cross crosslet. At the west end of the church, beside the porch, are two stones,—one with a small cross crosslet, the other with a rude cross fleury; and close by is "St. David's Staff," a tall thin stone seven feet high, with a cross crosslet on the western face; and beneath it, running vertically downwards, an inscription in minuscule character, probably of the ninth century. These stones are engraved in Meyrick's *History of Cardiganshire*; but they are worthy of being illustrated by our Association more accurately, and more in accordance with the requirements of modern archaeological science.

We next came to Tregaron to look for the early incised stones in the churchyard that stood there in Meyrick's time; but we could find no trace nor recollection of them. Here the church has a very fine western tower of the fifteenth century, similar in design to that of Llanddewi Brefi, but not with such good masonry; and here, too, the nave and chancel have been rebuilt on the meeting house plan, "*cheap and nasty*." On the east wall, where the chancel stood, near a dingy communion table, a modern house-clock is fixed up on a bracket, and ticks away diligently;—a few more steps downwards in the *facilis descensus*, and it might have been placed on the communion table itself. Such is the aspect of the interior of Tregaron church. In the north-west corner stands the font,—a good specimen, of the same date as the tower, but unique in design, being a regular heptagon hollowed out into a circular basin, with a drain three inches in diameter.

Returning from hence we wended our way to *Llanio*, the site of

LOVENTIVM, four miles down the valley, and on the western side of the stream. Any casual observer might visit this spot without perceiving that he was on the site of a Roman town at least as large as Lampeter of the present day. Some faint traces of embankment may be observed on and about Cae'r Castell; but it is on the flat towards the river that you must look for foundations of houses. Here the tenant of the farm, a person of intelligence and courtesy, pointed out to us the sites of several buildings. Here they dug up for us stones and mortar of walls, still in their courses, under ground: here they shewed us how the soil of the surrounding fields was filled with bricks, and where lumps or weights of lead had been discovered: and here, too, they pointed out the only two Roman inscriptions still remaining on this spot: one in the east wall of the house, above the horse-block, bearing the rudely executed name of OVBKIONI; the other in the lower part of the stable wall, thither removed from the horse-block, not many years back, with traces of two lines of words on it, but of which CON is almost the only portion now legible. These stones have been engraved by Meyrick, and they deserve to be put in more suitable places.

LOVENTIVM stood in an admirable situation, very similar to that of Caer Sws in Montgomeryshire, close to the river; commanding several lines of roads, looking up several valleys, healthy and cheerful, with a good soil and pleasant prospects,—just the very place that a Roman general would have chosen for his troops. No wonder that a town grew up around it; but how strange that not a single dwelling, nor faintest trace of one, should now be remaining! It is all covered up, nearly obliterated by cultivation; and the capital of the valley, the chief town of this large district, has totally disappeared! Its site, however, admits of the utmost certainty of definition; and future excavations may well repay the efforts of our Association.

We next visited a colossal *maen hir* in a hedge of the field above Llanio, at Bryn y Maen: so named, no doubt, from the proximity of this early monument. It is square in section, tapering towards the top. The portion now above ground is eight feet in height, and it measures sixteen in circumference. No traces of carnedd, or circle, were observed by us.

Above Tregaron, near the river Teivy, is *Castell Flemish*, a large military mound with several lines of circumvallating earthworks. Between Tregaron and Llanio is *Tomen Llanio*, another mound, apparently defending a pass over the river. Between Llanio and Lampeter occur two churches: one, Llangybi, partly barbarized after the fashion of Llanfair clydogau, but not quite so bad; the other, Bettws Bledrws, a sham Gothic construction of the present century, with a kind of tower and spire. The little church of Cellan, in the same vale, is now "doing up" in the same style; but probably the worst of any of these churches is that of Lampeter itself, more ugly than the rest,—and yet, though a poor case, containing a jewel. The font, much mutilated by the sharpening knives of many generations of men, when it used to lie in the churchyard, is a square basin, perhaps of the twelfth century, on a circular shaft, with emblems of the evangelists—

the angel, the lion, the ox, and the eagle—at the four corners rudely worked; but one of the most interesting relics of early art that Wales possesses. This is worthy of careful preservation. As for the building itself, it is a public eyesore: it demands total demolition, and scientific reconstruction.

I am, etc.,

ONE OF THE PARTY.

Lampeter, Aug. 18, 1861.

EARLY BRITISH REMAINS.— NEWCASTLE-EMLYN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—About ten days after the archæological meeting at Cardigan in 1859, I was informed that a farmer, in the course of draining a bog near Henfeddau, had found some curious pike-heads and other remains of ancient British weapons. I went to see the locality where they had been discovered, and found the pit of turbary peat about three feet deep; and upon examining the remains, which were found all huddled together, as if promiscuously thrown into a pit, they had evidently been bent, broken, and rendered quite useless for service again. There are the remains of two swords, one of which can be distinctly fitted together; about a dozen extremely handsome pike-heads, and several grooved ferules with the wooden handles perfectly preserved in them, through the agency, no doubt, of the antiseptic qualities of the bog. All the implements are of *bronze*, except one of copper. Some of them have even now a keen cutting edge easily felt or discovered by the finger. They have marks upon them of having been used or cut upon. They were destroyed and buried by the conquerors, and must have been taken from the vanquished. Henfeddau (or “old graves”) is the name of a farm near; and the tradition still holds, that a great battle was fought near this place. There is an oblong mound in a field two hundred yards from the spot where these implements were found, where the bodies of the slain are said to be interred. There are two encampments near, which also indicate the locality of two armed forces. They are opposite each other; and these pikes were found in the ravine between. When I have a little more leisure, I shall make a cut across this oblong mound, for the purpose of making further researches. There can be no doubt that these warlike implements are very ancient; most probably British, dating long before the Roman occupation of this country. These prove that the ancient Britons were well acquainted with metallurgy, molding and alloying metals. The swords are short; and some of the pike-heads are extremely handsome, although, from the small size of the ferules, they must have been used in warfare to throw as javelins, as the Indians now do. I am not enabled to give you a drawing of these curious weapons; but I shall be happy to accompany any of my brother members to the spot to make further researches when opportunity offers.

I am, etc.,

WALTER D. JONES.

Glanceych, Newcastle-Emlyn, Aug 1, 1861.

CARDIGANSHIRE FAMILIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I wish to be allowed to make a few additions to my paper on the *Old Families* of Lampeter, which has appeared in your Journal, and to correct myself in one or two instances.

In pedigrees it is very useful to assign dates, if possible, to the more prominent names. I wish, therefore, here to give the dates of the shrievalty of some of the sons-in-law of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, of Millfield. John Vaughan, of Llanelly, who married his daughter Margaret, was Sheriff of Caermarthenshire in 1659. Nicholas Williams, of Rhydodyn, who married Anne, and Philip Vaughan, of Trimsaran, the husband of Letitia, served the same office for that county in 1665 and 1661 respectively.

By referring to the pedigree in p. 17, it will be seen that Mary, great granddaughter of Marmaduke Lloyd, of Llawryllan, and daughter of John Walters, of Brecon, married Sir Halswell Tynte, Bart. Sir Halswell Tynte died in 1730, without surviving issue; and the baronetcy became extinct in 1785, by the death of his brother, Sir Charles Kemeys Tynte. But the family still exists in Somersetshire, and Cefnmbli in Glamorganshire.

You will observe that in the same page mention is made of a place called Pennant, near Brecon, in connexion with Frances, a granddaughter of the same Marmaduke Lloyd. After saying that this place was for "a few years the seat of gaiety, revelry, and voluptuous enjoyment; the transient abode of dissipation and extravagance, the banqueting room of Bacchus, the couch of illicit love; and consequently the cradle of poverty, misery, and ruin"; the historian of Breconshire proceeds to tell the reader how it passed into the hands of one Meredith Lewis, and its subsequent history. As the passage is a fitting text for a chapter on the "Vicissitudes of Families," we quote it in full: "Meredith Lewis, Sheriff of Breconshire in 1654, by his will devised Pennant and the remainder of his property to his nephew, Lodowick Lewis, who left three daughters: two died without issue; Anne, the second daughter, married Owen Evans, Archdeacon of Cardigan, by whom she had Owen Evans, esquire, who married Elizabeth Williams, daughter of Thomas Williams of Taley, by Frances daughter of Judge Lloyd of Crickadarn. The last named Owen Evans had by his wife four children: Lloyd Evans, Lodowick Evans, Thomas Evans, and Elizabeth Evans. The two first died infants; Thomas Evans lived to be between fifty and sixty, and died single. During his life the estate (which had been deeply involved by the father), through inattention and mismanagement, was squandered away. The mansion house of Pennant, and the property in the vicinity of Brecon, were mortgaged to, and afterwards the equity of redemption foreclosed by, Michael Cope Hopton, Esq., who now possesses it. Elizabeth, the daughter of the last named Owen Evans, married Francis Lewis, a lieutenant in the army, by whom she had

two daughters: one married William Courtenay of Kington, and died without issue; the other is now living in London (1809), and married to William Simmonds, a cabinet maker, by whom she has several children." (*History of Brecknockshire*, vol. ii, pp. 133-34.)

Sir Francis Lloyd, of Millfield, has been mentioned as a zealous royalist. If the following extract from Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, does not place his prowess in a favourable light, it does not make him appear worse than his comrades in arms: "In the civil wars this castle (Haverfordwest) was garrisoned for the king, Sir John Stepney being the governor; but it never was regularly besieged, if credit be given to the accounts left us by the Parliament writers (for neither Rushworth nor Whitelock make much mention of it). The garrison, on hearing of the rapid successes of the Parliament forces at Milford,—and particularly the surrender of the Pill Fort, one of the strongest holds the Royalists possessed,—in a panic hastily withdrew, leaving their ordnance and stores of every kind behind them; and their precipitous retreat is most ludicrously accounted for. The prints of the day, in which alone you find a minute detail of the proceedings of those times, are become very scarce; but having been fortunate in an opportunity of consulting a very curious collection in the library of my friend, Sir Richard Hoare, I shall refer my reader to the 'Appendix,' to which I thought such documents would be no uninteresting accession. Amongst the panic-struck deserters of the garrison on this occasion, the men of note were,—Sir Henry Vaughan, Major-General of the three counties, Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen; Sir Francis Lloyd, Major of horse; Sir John Stepney, Governor of Haverfordwest; Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, High Sheriff of the county of Pembroke; Captain John Edwards, Commissioner of Array; and Captain Hull of Bristol." (Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, pp. 223-24, and Appendix, 7.)

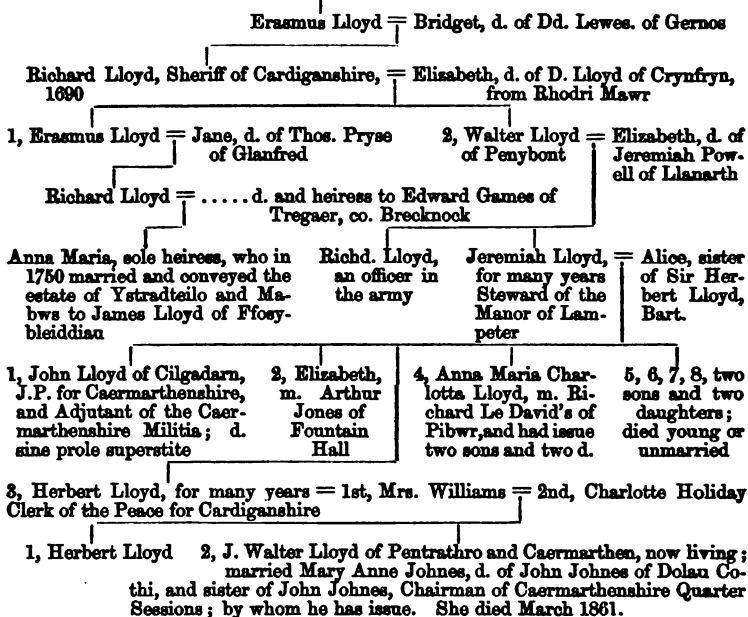
In connexion with the name of Jeremiah Lloyd, brother-in-law of Sir Herbert Lloyd of Peterwell, it was stated in a note at p. 21, that the Lloyds of Ffosybleiddiau and Mabws are descended from Cadifor. This is true of the Lloyds of Ffosybleiddiau; but not of the original Lloyds of Mabws and Ystradteilo, an heiress of which family carried the Ystradteilo estate to the Lloyds of Ffosybleiddiau, who then became of Ystradteilo and Mabws. For this correction, and for the following pedigree, which will, I am sure, for various reasons, be interesting to my readers, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Stedman Thomas of Caermarthen.

I am informed by competent authority that the cut of the arms of Sir Herbert Lloyd is not quite correct. It was too late to withdraw it, when I received the information; but I believe it is a very close approximation to the shield borne by the baronet.

We hear in this neighbourhood grand accounts of the magnificence of the mansion at Peterwell. The last fabric was, I believe, commenced by John Lloyd, and carried on by his brother Sir Herbert. The number of its windows, the flower-garden on the roof, its entrance-steps of polished Portland stone, the artificial water on each

side of the avenue, used to be frequent themes of evening fire-side conversation among the old people here.

RICHARD AB IEUAN LLOYD, of Ystradteilo, Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1661, descended from Elystan Glodrudd, Prince of Ferlex = Gwenllian, d. of Morgan Herbert, of Hafod



At some future time I may, if you will allow me, send you some few notes on this parish and manor. I have copies of old charters and other records which, perhaps, may interest the local antiquary.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

Lampeter, St. Peter's Day, 1861.

W. E.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 64.—TUMULUS NEAR CARDIGAN.—At Blaen Annerch, close to the fifth milestone between Cardigan and Aberaeron, on the south-east side of the road, is a tumulus in a field of arable land; not marked on the Ordnance Map, nor, indeed, easy to be recognized, except by a practised eye. It is, no doubt, sepulchral, and probably marks the site of a battle. Another tumulus marked on the Ordnance Map, and called "Crug," stands on the north-west side of the road near the same place.

Miscellaneous Notices.

TREASURE TROVE.—We gather from the reports of the proceedings in the House of Lords last session, that the late instructions concerning *treasure trove*, issued by the Government, have been suspended in their operation. We hope that this check is only for the time being. It is a matter that calls for prompt and enlightened legislation.

ITINERARY OF EDWARD II.—Another valuable contribution to English history has just been made, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, under the above title, in a paper contributed to the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, of the British Archæological Association. It contains a register of all the movements of the king day by day, as far as they can be *proved* from records. We shall give some further notice of this again; but meanwhile we mention it in order that one of our most learned members, who has long had the Itinerary of Edward I in hand, may be induced to complete it for our own Association.

STONEHENGE, BY J. THURNAM, ESQ., M.D.—We are indebted to the kindness of the author for his highly interesting lecture on Stonehenge, delivered on the spot in August last. It is illustrated with woodcuts, and gives a clear account of the monument in its present condition. The pith of the lecture lies in the following passage:

“Dr. Thurnam then called the attention of his hearers to the two opinions as to the periods at which the different series of stones were set up at Stonehenge. Some say that the outer circle and the outer oval existed before the smaller stones of the inner circle and oval, which were added at a later period. Others would have that the smaller stones were erected first, perhaps many centuries before the others. For himself, he did not agree with either of these theories; and that the whole work was contemporaneous, was, he believed, proved by the chippings of the various kinds of stone being found mixed together at the bases of the stones, and in some also of the adjacent barrows. There were also various opinions as to the time of the erection of this monument. Some say that it was erected in the fifth century by Aurelius Ambrosius; while others carry its date back to before the flood. This was the opinion of the conservator of Stonehenge, Mr. Browne, who, he regretted, was not present that day. Mr. Browne's father and Mr. Browne himself were both of opinion that Stonehenge was an antediluvian work,—an opinion almost too absurd to notice. He might, however, mention that the plans in Mr. Browne's little book were very correct and useful. For himself, he agreed with Dr. Guest, that Stonehenge was probably erected about one hundred years before Christ. He (Dr. Thurnam) considered that the fact of syenite or greenstone being employed in the inner obeliscal stones, shewed the existence of friendly relations between the Belgæ and the powerful tribe of the Damnonii, if these stones were brought from Devon or Cornwall; with the Ordovices, if brought from North Wales. Of the precise epoch of the Belgic invasion we are ignorant, but it was probably not earlier than two hundred years before Christ; and the date of Stonehenge might therefore be placed at about one hundred years before our æra,—the epoch of Divitiacus, who reigned both in Gaul and Britain.”

Reviews.

STRIGULENSIA, ETC. By G. ORMEROD, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THIS valuable volume, printed for private distribution only, has been kindly presented to us by its learned author; and we gladly call the attention of members to it as another of those useful antiquarian works which have proceeded from the same indefatigable pen. It consists chiefly of reprints from the *Archæologia* and from the *Archæological Journal*, being memoirs on subjects connected with the antiquities of Chepstow and its neighbourhood; including the Roman roads and other remains of that district, as well as various matters appertaining to the Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods. Many of these papers are well known to our members; but they will be glad to hear of their being all collected into one convenient volume, which, with us, they will probably regret is not made accessible by sale to the antiquarian public generally.

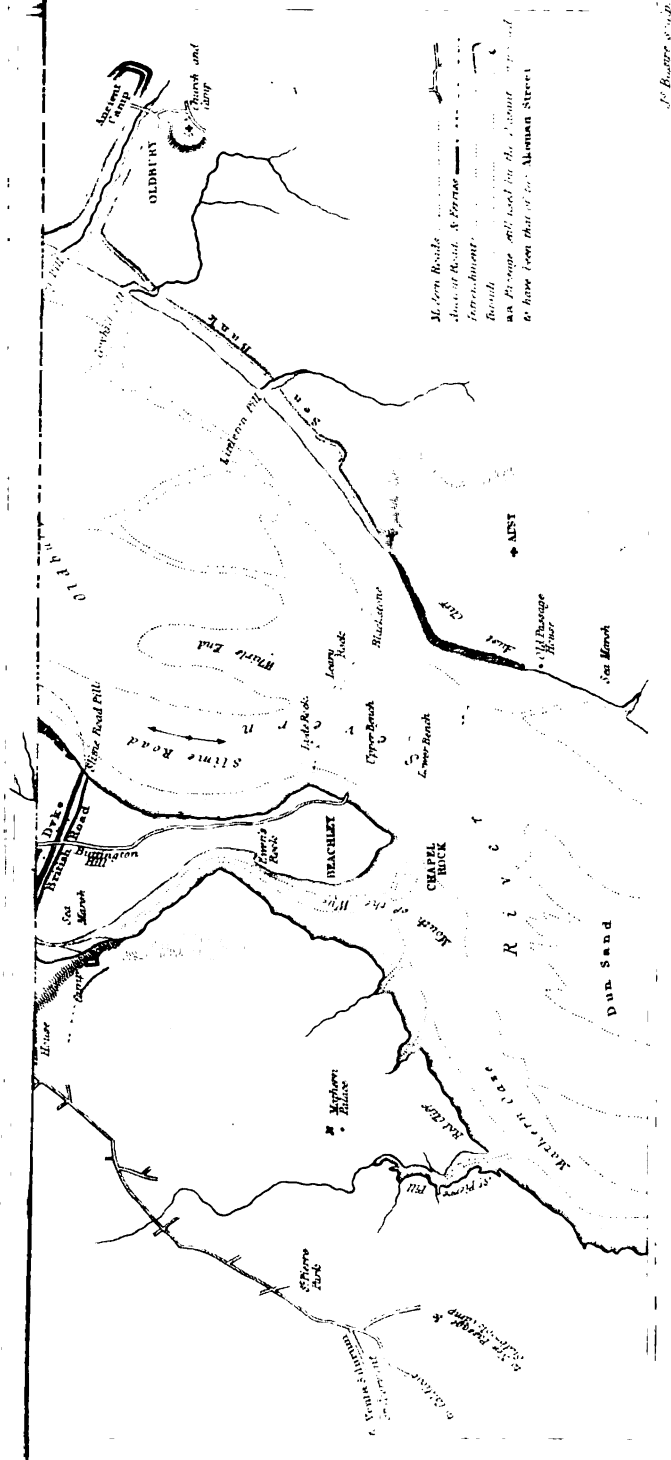
The volume is illustrated with maps, and views of Roman remains of various kinds; and in its present form constitutes an interesting addition to the archæology of the border country. Chepstow is so remarkable a spot, from the occurrence of important remains in its neighbourhood, the Roman roads and towns, Offa's dyke, Norman castles, etc., that the value of such a book will be at once duly understood.

One of the reprints which has most interested us, is that which refers to "The British Passage of the Severn Estuary," from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix; and we quote from it as follows:

"The Roman Trajectus here mentioned is (in its general sense) the precursor of the disputed Roman passage into Britannia Secunda, which has been referred by very numerous distinguished antiquaries to almost as many different places on the Severn, of which the passage now discussed is nearly the centre. Many of these opinions deserve the highest respect; but others have been formed without local knowledge of the channel or currents of the Severn, or of that marshy district which extends in a southerly direction from the left bank of the river (near Oldbury) towards the mouth of the Avon, between the Port Hills and Pilning-street on the south-east, and Aust on the north-west, leaving "Ingst" (insular both in name and appearance) in the centre of these former marshes. Popular tradition considers this vale to have been once covered with the waters of the estuary.

"In endeavouring, however, to connect the British road from Cirencester with that acknowledged portion of the Julian Way which lies on the western side of the Wye, this question is only so far touched as to suggest that *wheresoever the later Roman passage might be ultimately fixed*, the prudence of that people would probably follow the established British line, in the first instance at least, in crossing so dangerous an estuary.

"With respect to Gale's opinion as to the Ryknield-street descending to a ferry at Oldbury, that street—the communication between the north and St. David's—is now generally supposed to have turned to the west at



or near Gloucester; receiving in its further course, nevertheless, a line branching from the Ickenield-street (or British road from Yarmouth to Cornwall) such subsidiary line of the last mentioned road passing through Cirencester, and thence over the Severn, to communication with the admitted Via Julia at Caerwent.

"Lysons traces this last named branch of the Ickenield-street westwards, by Cirencester as far as Kingscote, and continues it conjecturally to Aust, but only conjecturally, and gives to it the name of that greater street from which it branches.

"Coxe (who agrees with his friends Leman and Sir R. C. Hoare in calling this line the Akeman-street) traces it in Gloucestershire, on the authority of Leman, to the great tumulus at Symond's Hall between Kingscote and Oldbury, leaving its further progress uncertain, as to tending towards Oldbury or towards Aust; but in his map (directed by Leman) he brings it conjecturally across the Severn from the north of Oldbury, then through Sedbury in Tidenham, thence across the Wye to Chepstow parish, and thence onwards to Caerwent.

"The following personal observations are in support of the portion of this line lying between Oldbury and Caerwent, delineated in the accompanying map.

"About two miles north of Oldbury, at Shepardine, is a 'pill,' or mouth of a brook, with a landing-place, where there is a gravel bank, which is rare in this part of the Severn. From this the market people pass weekly to the upper or lower pill (in Tidenham) severally situated above and below the Sedbury Cliffs, where there are also gravel banks, and proceed by land to Chepstow Bridge. This passage from Oldbury takes the line of the principal channel slantways, and either pill is used as wind and tide render convenient. Seyer, in his *Memoirs of Bristol*, notices this Passage, which he considers to be 'of the remotest antiquity'; but being in pursuit of Roman communications, overlooks its connexion with British roads.

"From the lower or southern landing-place, immediately at the southern end of the Sedbury Cliffs, crowned, as hereafter mentioned, with what is considered to be the termination of Offa's Dyke, a line of ancient disused road runs from river to river, parallel with this dyke, and on the southern side of it. It is traceable, first, to Buttington Hill, where it crosses the turnpike road: it proceeds thence down a lane very deep and narrow (and before some late alterations, very much deeper), on the south side of 'the Netherway Field,' to the former site of Sedbury Cross, where the road from the higher pill or landing-place formerly joined it. It is here remembered to have crossed the present pool at Pennsylvania Farm; and it is still clearly traceable, by the side of the dyke, to a considerable pill on the Wye, at Tiler's Marsh, protected by a large mount hereafter mentioned.

"From this pill a boat would easily cross the current of the Wye slantways, to either extremity of the limestone cliffs at Hardwick, on the opposite side of the river, but situated about a quarter of a mile lower down; on which cliffs the camp before mentioned, now called the Bulwarks, is situated. There is a very steep approach to it by the fosse, and a much easier one by the more distant slope of Warrenslade. On the top of this slope or "slade," the decided gravel bank of an ancient road commences, clearly distinguishable from the soil adjacent, leading past the principal entrance of the camp, and then turning off towards Venta Silurum, or Caerwent; after which place the lines of the Akeman-street and the Via Julia of Richard of Cirencester are unanimously admitted to coincide.

"From the higher or northern landing-place on the Severn, another ancient way leads by the site of Anwards or Anwells, and turning southwards near Sedbury village, follows what was formerly a deep hollow way,

through Hayringbridge, to a communication with the lower line at Pensilvania, as before mentioned, and occurs in deeds of 1499 as the common way, 'a Cruce de Sedburye versus Anwelles.' I consider it to have been of much higher antiquity, and to have thrown off a branch communicating with the vicinal road from Gloucester and Lidney to Caerwent, which passes Tutshill at about half a mile's distance from this apparently subsidiary line of the Akeman-street, nearly coextensive with the present communication.

"Of this vicinal road at Tutshill, which is traceable in many places by the side of the present turnpike road from Gloucester to Chepstow, it remains to add, that at Tutshill it visibly diverges from the turnpike road, in a westerly direction, towards the Wye, shewing its line through the turf of the fields, and occurring as a rude pavement in sinking foundations. There is a tradition of a bridge over the Wye having existed in early periods at a point below Tutshill (nearly opposite Piercefield Alcove); and parallel lines of black remains of stakes are clearly to be seen at low tides crossing the bed of the river, and also a ruined pier, possibly part of this traditional bridge, or of some later one. From the Monmouthshire side of these stakes a line of road may be traced ascending the Piercefield cliffs, and visible through the brushwood at a considerable distance. Its further progress is in the suburbs of Chepstow; but its direction is to the west of that town, near the site of St. Kingsmark's Priory, from which it probably turned to the left, and joined the former road, or Akeman-street, in its progress towards Caerwent, as noticed at greater length in the subsequent account of the communications with 'Venta Silurum.'

"The preceding remarks, founded on personal observation, so far illustrate and confirm the opinion of Gale as to an early British passage from Oldbury to the right bank of the Severn; and they not only prove its practicability, but its desirableness, as shewn by the constant although irregular use of such passage by the peasantry of the district, even at the present day, between the opposite banks of the estuary."

From the memoir, No. XI, "On the Marchership of Strigul," etc., we give the subjoined extract. After describing the two portions of the marchership, that on the right bank of the Wye, and that on the left, Dr. Ormerod observes of the whole :

"Its outlying military defence towards Wales, on the right bank of the Wye, was formed by the castles of the adjacent marcherships of Caldecote, Newport, Usk, and Monmouth. Within this fence, and within the boundaries of Strigul, were the religious houses of Chepstow, Tintern, and St. Kingsmark, and the episcopal palace of Matherne. The note below will supply the names of the castellets of the military tenants of the marcherships, all more or less defensible.¹ On the Gloucestershire side of the Wye the case was very different. The 'Liberty' was protected by the royal

¹ "These fortalices of the knights of Strigul, which formed part of the defence of the Norman marchership, were, PENGOED, PENHOW or ST. MAUR (the cradle of the Seymours), LANVAIR, DINHAM, CRIKKE, MATHERNE (afterwards MOYN'S COURT), and HODETON, now LTON,—all of which rose on lands held by military service before the close of the twelfth century, though successive devastations have left little that is Norman visible in their existing remains.

"At MOYN'S COURT (so called from the marriage of Thomas de Moigne with the relict of its feudal lord, the Baron Thomas de Knovill, recorded in Inq. p. m., 36 Edw. III, and not from monastic connexion, as Coxe supposed), the military works are conspicuous behind the mansion (see Ordnance

castle of St. Briavels, situated on the Wye, a few miles to the north of it. In somewhat earlier days the castle of the Counts of Eu, at Newnham, had protected the passage of the Severn; but nothing savoured of war, or fear of Cambrian irruption, to the south of these fortresses, between the two estuaries. In Tidenham, the Lord Marcher had his CHASE on the hill, and his preserve, noticed in charters, at Park Wood on the edge of Sedbury. Further to the northward, within Tidenham and Wollaston, the abbot of Tintern had his granges of MODESGATE, HALISHALL, WOLLASTON, and ALVERDESTON,—edifices which are now reduced to mere farmhouses, but, as far as can be judged by the remains of the extended moat at Plusterwine (formerly Alverdeston) and of the monastic chapel at Wollaston Grange, were once equal to considerable mansions. The last named edifice still exhibits its lancet-windows, one of which in the eastern front has mouldings approaching the flamboyant style. The Norman convent of De Lyra had also a cell, or dependent monastic foundation, at Tidenham."

NORRIS'S CORNISH DRAMA.

WE now come to the third and last of the ancient Cornish Dramas so ably edited by Mr. Norris,—*The Resurrection*. It is shorter than the two preceding ones, extending to only 2,646 lines; but it is not inferior to either of them in antiquarian interest. More legendary matter, it is true, is interwoven with the historic thread of the drama; but this an antiquary will not regret. Greater light is thereby thrown on the local and social history of the times, when the drama constituted a popular and pleasing representation.

As in the case of the two other dramas, we single out, not the most poetic, but rather the most curious and the most anomalous passages. Readers who wish to form a good idea of the merits of the whole of this sacred poem should buy Mr. Norris's volumes, read them, and select for themselves; our duty is rather to lay the irregularities of the compositions before the notice of the Association.

The Resurrection properly extends only to v. 1586; from thence the drama is called *The Death of Pilate*; and it is in this portion that the legendary matter chiefly occurs. *The Death of Pilate* ends at v. 2360. Then *The Ascension* begins, and so continues to the end of the drama.

Map), on a tongue of land, strengthened by the marshes of the Murig, which separate it from St. Pierre.

"This venerable mansion of ST. PIERRE is surrounded by extensive acquisitions of its ancient owners, but belongs to a class of mansions distinct from that of the fortalices above mentioned. On the attainder of Sir John Mynstreworth of Mynstreworth (an owner unknown to Coxe and to the controversialists on the subject of the sepulchral memorials of the St. Pierres here), an inquisition then taken describes it as being, in 47 Edw. III, a messuage with two carucates. At all events, as a detached out-lier of Caerleon marchership, it could not have been a military outpost of Strigul, the dependencies of which still encircle but do not include it.

"The Tower of TROGGER in Wentwood (which Camden has confounded with Strigul itself) is also omitted in the list above, as being of later date. This has been ascertained from the Inq. after the death of Earl Roger Bigod, 35 Edw. I, which describes it as 'Turris apud Torrogy de novo constitutus.'" (See p. 71.)

At the opening page we find, "*Hic incipit ordinale de resurrectione Domini nostri JHESU CHRISTI,*"—and Pilate begins by addressing his councillors thus :

PILATUS.

iheesu a fue anclethyys
hag yn beth a ven gorrys
gans ioseph ha tus erel
y leuerys ef yn weth
datherghy an tressa deth
y wre pur wyr hep fyllel

mar tufe ha datherghy
nur a tus [a] wra crygy
ynno y vos dev a nef
dyswrys a vyth ol iudy
ha kellys an lagha ny
dre reoson sur me a'n p'ef

ponaler thy'mmo lanara
pyth yv an cusyl wella
orth an dra-ma hep lettye
gyllys ef yn pryderow
mur yv ow fyenasow
yn certan war ow ene

PILATE.

Jesus, who was buried,
And put into a tomb of stone,
By Joseph and other persons,
He said likewise,
5 Rise on the third day,
He would, very truly, without fail. 5

If he comes and rises,
Many people will believe
In him, to be the God of heaven ;
10 Undone will be all Judæa,
And our law lost,
By reason sure I will prove it. 10

Counsellor, tell me
What is the best advice
15 For this thing, without delay ? 15
Lost I am in thoughts,
Great are my anxieties
Certainly, on my soul.

A councillor in reply recommends that Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus should both be put into prison. This is done; and, on the jailor certifying that they are safe under *nine* keys, Pilate says to him :

PILATUS.

rak the vos geyley mar len
me a re thy'so lemy'n
fekenel ol yn tyen
carvenow inwet merthyn

PILATE.

Because, jailor, thou art so trusty,
I give thee now
Fekenel, all entirely ;
Carvenow, also Merthyn.

Which the jailor acknowledges thus :

CARCERATOR.

grant merci syr iustis 95
vynytha syngys of thy's

JAILOR.

Gramercy, sir magistrate, 95
Ever bound I am to thee.

The dramatist introduces Christ at the gates of Hell, and uses partly the words of a well known psalm ;

SPIRITUS CHRISTI.

why pryncys a'n dewolow
soon egerough an porthow
py mar ny wreugh y fyth guow
yn certan kyns tremene
100 rak an porthow hep dyweth
a vyth ygerys yn weth
sur may thello aberueth
an myghtern a lowene

SPIRIT OF CHRIST.

Ye princes of the devils,
Immediately open the gates ;
If you do not, there shall be woes,
100 Certainly, before passing.
For the gates, without delay,
Shall be opened also,
Surely that may enter in
The King of joy.

LUCIFER.

ny dal thy's soornye gyne 105
pyv myghtern a lowene
a thesemyps thy'm lanar

LUCIFER.

It behoves thee not to strive with me ;
Who is the King of joy ? [105
Tell me immediately.

SPIRITUS.

arluth cref ha galosek
hag yn bateyl barthosek

SPIRIT.

The Lord, strong and powerful,
And in battle valiant ;

rak henna ygor hep mar
why pryngus

110

For this open without delay,
Ye princes!

110

The gates of Hell are broken, and the Saviour rescues Adam, Eve, and the souls of "as many as have done the will of my Father,"—"*kemmys re wruk both ow thas*,"—leading them forth triumphantly to Paradise, and delivering them into the charge of the archangel Michael. Here Adam meets Enoch and Elias, and a long dialogue ensues. The angels are then seen going down to the prison of Joseph and Nicodemus, and delivering them; immediately after which the soldiers come to Pilate, and advise that a guard be set over the tomb of the Saviour. Pilate assents, and says :

PILATUS.

gueytough ol er agas fyth
pan boetyas the pen try deyth
y tasserghy the vewnans 875
gobar da why agas byth
gon dansoetha ha cruk heyth
mar scap ythugh the'n mermans

PILATE.

All take care on your faith,
Since he boasted at the end of three days
He would rise again to life; 875
A good reward shall be to you,
The plain of Dansoetha and Barrow Heath;
If he escape, ye go to death.

In which quotation the words "*cruk heyth*" will doubtless not escape the notice of members, as introducing the South Welsh word for "barrow" or "tumulus"; viz., "*crug*" or "*cruk*," almost in composition with *heyth*, a word entirely of Saxon origin.

Christ rises, appears to the Virgin Mary, and says :

IHC.

o salve sancta parens 455
the nap yv joy ow oolon
ha'm melder kepar ha kens
dre pur natur ha reon
pan wreth hepoor an bevrens
hep guthyl na moy cheyson 460
a hugh an eleth ha'n sens
ty a thue the nef thu'm tron

JESUS.

O hail, holy parent, 455
Thou who art the joy of my heart,
And my sweetness as formerly,
Through pure nature and reason;
When thou shalt put away life,
Without suffering any more trouble, 460
Over the angels and the saints,
Thou shalt come to heaven to my throne.

The fourth line of this is worthy of critical attention, for its peculiar phraseology may throw light on the date of the composition of this drama. We now have the soldiers incurring the wrath of Pilate, and only exculpating themselves by challenging him to produce Joseph and Nicodemus; which as he cannot do, he is led to acknowledge the occurrence of a manifest miracle. The interview between the Saviour and Mary Magdalen next occurs; then the incredulity of Thomas, wrought up into a long colloquy and dispute between him and the other apostles; then the journey to Emmaus; and the convincing of the doubting apostle; with which the *Resurrezio* is brought to a close, forming a kind of "first act."

Tiberius Cæsar is now introduced on the stage, and prologizes *The Death of Pilate* thus :

TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

hep par of dres tus a'n bys
sav bones mur ow thyrstynys
ow bones claf
pyth yv guella the bos gury 1590
mar ny allaf bos yagheys
ny won pyth wraf

TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

I am without equal, above the people of
But great is my sadness, [the world;
I being sick.
What is best to be done? 1590
If I cannot be cured
I know not what I shall do.

A councillor recommends the Emperor to send to Pilate for Christ, king of the Jews, "*Cryst myghtern a'n yethewon.*" A messenger reaches Pilate, and soon after encounters St. Veronica, who returns with him to the Emperor; cures the latter by exhibiting the handkerchief with the sacred visage upon it; and persuades him to order Pilate for execution because of the death of Christ. Executioners, sent to apprehend him, cannot do so as long as he wears about his person the linen cloth that covered the loins of the Saviour when crucified, though one of the men says :

IV^s TORTOR.

me a grys a lauassen 1835
soon wor ow brevth y'n latthen
rak by my huk
me a leuer theugh an cas
an corf hepar renothas
ef re thuswruk 1840

FOURTH EXECUTIONER.

I think we might venture 1835
At once, on my judgment, to kill him ;
For, by my hook,
I will tell you the case ;
The incomparable body, by the Father,
He has destroyed. 1840

Pilate is ultimately induced to appear before Tiberius. St. Veronica informs the latter of the charmed cloth worn by the former; and the Emperor at length wheedles him into a surrender of it to himself. The executioners then seize him, and Pilate stabs himself. The legend of Pilate's body not remaining in the ground when buried follows; and that of all the people dying who pass over the Tiber, into which it is afterwards thrown in an iron box; as well as that of its being hooked up again, taken out to sea, and then finally got possession of by the devils, who pull it down to Hell with this chorus :

SATHANAS.

ha ty corf bras mylyges
the yfarn gans the enef
gynen y fythyth tynnes
the cane a vyth goef 2350

SATAN.

And thou, great cursed body,
To Hell with thy soul
By us shall be dragged :
Thy song shall be, "Wo is me!" 2350

BELSEBUK.

lemmyn pup ol settyes dorn
yn keth schath-ma th'y tanne
ha ty tulfryk pen pusorn
dalleth thy'nny ny cane

BEELZEBUB.

Now every one put his hand
To drag him in this same boat.
And thou, Tulfrik, the end of a song
Begin to sing to us.

TULFRYK.

ye re gymmy tol ow guen 2355
rak yn mes yma y pen
sur pur hyr aves thu'm tyn
belsebuk ha sattanas
kenough why faborden bras
ha me a can trebly fyn 2360

TULFRIC.

I wag my tail at ye, 2355
For its end is out
Very long surely behind me.
Beelzebub and Satan,
You sing a great bass,
And I will sing a fine treble. 2360

We now come to *The Ascension*. The Saviour addresses the apostles. Christ says :

IHC.

thomas ty a the cynda
hag ena pregoth a wra
yn ow hanow
ha gura thy's moy seruygy 2460

JESUS.

Thomas, thou shalt go to India,
And there shalt preach
In my name,
And make for me more servants ; 2460

yn wlas-na ow len grysy
tus yv tanow

hag yn weth why dew ha dew
a pregoth yn aweyl grew
yn ol an beys
pyv penagh a len gryseo
yn weth bysythyys a vo
a vyth sylwys

ha nep na yynno crygy
ny yl bos a'm seruyey
yn certan awos an beys
me a leuer theugh an guyr
ma ny wrefa ow desyr
y fyth dampnys the peynys

In that country my true believers
Are few persons.

And also you, two and two,
Go far away preaching
In all the world.
Whosoever faithfully believes,
And is diligent also,
Shall be saved.

And those who will not believe
Cannot be my servants,
Certainly, for the world.
I tell you the truth :
Who does not my desire
Shall be condemned to pains.

2465

2465

2470

2470

Shortly after Christ ascends to Heaven, the angels singing on His approach an adaptation of one of the psalms; and at last, according to the "stage directions," the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The drama ends rather oddly; for the Emperor Tiberius is brought on to epilogize, and his majesty dismisses the audience in the following manner :

IMPERATOR.

a tus vas why re welas
a thasserghyens cryst del fue
porthow yfarn a torras
yn mes adam hag ene
kemmys a wruk both a'n tas
y's gorras the lowene
the vap den y tyesquethas
pur wyr mur a kerenge

hag yn ban the nef the'n ioy
ihesu a wruk yskynne
worth an iaul ha'y company
rak a's guytho yn pup le
ha'y vennath though pup huny
lemmyn ens pup war tu tre
now menstreles pybygh byey
may hyllyn mos the thonssye

2635

2640

2645

EMPEROR.

O good people, you have seen
The Resurrection of Christ as it was.
The gates of Hell he broke;
Out Adam and Eve,
As many as wrought the will of the Father
He placed them in bliss :
To the sons of men he shewed,
Very truly, much love;

[2635]

And up to heaven to bliss
Jesus made them ascend,
From the devil and his company,
That he might keep them in every place;
And his blessing on you every one.
Now let all go to the side of home.
Now, minstrels, pipe diligently,
That we may go to dance.

2640

2645

While the more select of the *dramatis personæ* groupe themselves, in a circle, thus :—*Celum, Milites, Nichodemus, Joseph, Imperator, Pilatus, Infernum, Tortores*.

ANNALES CAMBRIÆ.

THIS is the second of the Welsh Chronicles, a complete edition of which has been lately put forth by authority of the Master of the Rolls. As was the case with the *Brut y Tywysogion*, all that part of it which extends down to the year 1066 was printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, under the superintendence of the late Henry Petrie, Esq., and T. Duffus Hardy, Esq., aided by the late Aneurin Owen, who may be considered to have been virtually the editor of the Welsh portion. We have now the whole of the *Annales* printed, coming

down to the year 1288; and, as with the *Brut*, so now the new editor is the Rev. John Williams, M.A.

A good account of the MSS., and of the *Annales* themselves, will be found printed in the introduction to the *Monumenta*; so much so, indeed, that little more could be left to a new editor than to republish the essence of those introductory remarks, and to add to them any fresh information of his own. Accordingly we find a brief note at the end of the new preface, in which the editor acknowledges his obligations, and states that he has largely availed himself of the prefatory remarks in the *Monumenta*. We could have wished, indeed, that the introductory matter of that great book had been reprinted in this new edition; we should then have had it in the original author's own words, while the new editor might easily have appended the slight amount of new matter which he has been able to introduce. Indeed, with the exception of a disquisition as to who was the compiler of the *Annales*,—Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, or Geraint Varddglas, in illustration of which the editor quotes no better authority than that of the *Iolo MSS.*,—we do not see that anything is gained by the new preface. To give an idea of the extent to which the latter is based on the former, the old preface, we shall print extracts in parallel passages:

ANNALES CAMBRIÆ.

"A. is a manuscript in the Harleian Collection, No. 3859, on vellum, in octavo, of the latter part of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, inserted without title or introduction in the body of a manuscript of Nennius." (Pref., p. x.)

MON. HIST.

"§ 259. A.—Manuscript in the Harleian Collection, No. 3859, in parchment, in octavo, in triple columns, of the latter part of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, inserted without title or introduction in the body of a manuscript of Nennius, already described at p. 68." (Pref., p. 92.)

But something of this kind had been said before by Aneurin Owen in his preface to the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, p. iv:

"There is in the Harleian Collection of the British Museum a manuscript marked 3859, which has every appearance of having been written in Dimetia during the sway of Owain, son of Howel dda; or a transcript of one of that date. It contains, among other matter, a chronicle of events from A.D. 444 to A.D. 954, where the register terminates. This series is followed by the pedigree of Owain, traced through his father Howel, and his mother Elen. As the latter entries appear to have been coeval with the events, and the pedigrees afford a curious instance of the manner in which the descents of both Saxon and Welsh princes in early ages were deduced, it may not be considered irrelevant to here supply extracts from them."

Aneurin Owen then prints, in a note, the pedigree alluded to; and so does the new editor of the *Annales*. But, as he did not find this pedigree in the *Monumenta Historica*, it would have been more satisfactory had he mentioned that it had already appeared in the volume of the Welsh laws:

ANN. CAMB.

"Whoever the compiler was, he appears to have availed himself, in the pro-

MON. HIST.

"The earlier portion appears to have been taken from an Irish chronicle, which

section of his task, of an Irish chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach and by the compiler of the *Annals of Ulster*." (Pref., p. xv.)

was also used by Tigernach and by the compilers of the *Annals of Ulster*, with which it occasionally agrees till near the end of the fifth century." (Pref., pp. 92-3.)

After an awkward typographical error, and a wrong reference in p. xvi, "*veteri libri veterum nostrorum*"; "Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, § 17," which ought to have appeared in the "*Corrigenda*"; and a curious citing of "*Brut y Tywysogion penes Myvyrian Archæology*, vol. ii, p. 482," the editor explains the mode of registering events adopted by the compiler of the *Annales*, and then quotes some authorities in these words: "Independent authorities do exist, such as Gildas, Nennius, Bede, *The Genealogies of the Saints*, *The Triads*, and *the works of the bards*."

It had been much better had he abstained from forcing Venerable Bede into company of such doubtful character both as to authenticity and chronology; especially since he appeals, in a note, to no greater an authority than Sharon Turner in support of the genuineness of the poems ascribed to Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merddin,—not aware, probably, of the light thrown upon matters of this kind by critics since the time of that amiable but feeble author. The ideas, indeed, in this part of the new preface are not very clearly expressed; and it is not easy to understand what is meant, when, after saying that there is reason for supposing this Chronicle to have been originally written in Welsh, the editor observes, "we would *feign* detect traces of a misapprehension of the meaning of certain Welsh words on the part of the translator,"—a passage, in its present form, wholly inexplicable. To proceed with extracts:

ANN. CAMB.

"The chronology of this document is designated by the repetition of the word 'annus' for each successive year, whether blank or otherwise, whilst every tenth year is marked x, xx, &c." (Pref., p. xxiv.)

"From a comparison of dates assigned to many of the events noticed in it by other writers, it would appear that the era on which its chronology rests would concur with the year 444 of the Incarnation, though there is no reason given for this particular date.

"The chronicle that comes next under our notice is '*Annales ab orbe condito ad usque A.D. 1286*,' marked B. in the present edition. This is a manuscript in folio, written in triple columns, in a hand of the close of the thirteenth century, without title or introduction, on certain fly-leaves prefixed to an abridged copy of Domesday Book in the Public Record Office, in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, formerly in charge of the King's Remembrancer in the Court of the Exchequer." (Pref., pp. xxiv-xxv.)

MON. HIST.

"The chronology is designated by the repetition of the word 'annus' for each successive year, whether blank or otherwise, and every tenth year is marked x, xx, etc." (Pref., p. 98.)

"From a comparison of the dates assigned by Tigernach and other ancient writers, to many of the events here noticed, it may be conjectured that the era on which its chronology rests would concur with the year 444 of the Incarnation, though no probable reason can be assigned for this particular period having been selected for its commencement.

"§ 261. B.—"*Annales ab orbe condito usque A.D. 1286*." Manuscript, in folio, written in triple columns, in a hand of the close of the thirteenth century, without title or introduction, on certain fly-leaves prefixed to an abridged copy of Domesday Book in the Public Record Office, in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, formerly in charge of the King's Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer." (Ib.)

ANN. CAMB.

"The basis of this chronicle, down to the empire of Leo I, A.D. 457, is derived from the thirty-ninth chapter of the fifth book of Isidore's 'Origines,'—apparently through the medium of Bede's shorter chronicle; with some insertions relating to general ecclesiastical history from another source, and with the further addition of a few brief notices taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*." (Pref., p. xxv.)

"From A.D. 457 it agrees nearly with manuscript A. until that copy ends." (Ib.)

"From the evident partiality displayed by the writers for the Cambrian interest, there can be little doubt that they were Welshmen, probably ecclesiastics, inmates of some of the religious houses that had sprung up in different parts of the country, and more especially of Strata Florida." (Pref., p. xxvi.)

"The third manuscript is distinguished in the present volume by the letter C. This is 'Annales ab orbe condito adusque A.D. 1288,' two years later than manuscript B. It is in the Cottonian Collection, Domitian A. 1, in small octavo, written in a hand of the end of the thirteenth century,—probably in the very year which terminates the copy.

"Of this chronicle, the portion extending from the creation to the empire of Heraclius, A.D. 614-40, consists, like the early part of manuscript B., of extracts from Isidore's 'Origines,'—apparently through the medium of Bede. Indeed, the writer, in the following entry, expressly assigns the compilation to the Saxon priest, A.D. 735: 'Beda presbyter moritur, qui hunc librum cronicum annuatum composuit.' It contains also a few brief extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and likewise a portion of the notices contained in manuscript A. during the same period.

"The citation from Geoffrey of Monmouth here, as in the case of the corresponding portion of manuscript B., forbids us to assign an earlier date to the composition than the middle of the twelfth century.

"From the empire of Heraclius forward, it agrees nearly with manuscript A. till that copy ceases, and generally with manuscript B. to the year 1203; from which circumstance it is evident that the compiler or compilers of that portion had access to the two other copies and made use of them in preparing his or their own chronicle.

MON. HIST.

"The basis of the chronicle, down to the empire of Leo I, A.D. 457, is derived from the thirty-ninth chapter of the fifth book of Isidore's 'Origines,'—apparently through the medium of Bede's shorter chronicle; with some insertions relating to general ecclesiastical history from another source, and with the further addition of a few brief notices taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*." (Pref., p. 93.)

"From that period it agrees nearly with manuscript A. until that copy ends." (Ib.)

"It is apparently the work of one or more Welshmen, and has frequent notices relating to the monastery of Strata Florida, where the latter part was probably composed." (Ib.)

"§ 262. C.—'Annales ab orbe condito adusque an. 1286.' Manuscript in the Cottonian Collection, Domitian A. 1, in small 8vo, of the end of the thirteenth century. Of this chronicle, the portion extending from the creation to the empire of Heraclius, A.D. 614-40, consists, like the early part of manuscript B., of extracts from Isidore's 'Origines,'—apparently through the medium of Bede; of a few brief extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth; and also of a portion of the notices contained in manuscript A. during the same period. Thenceforward it agrees nearly with manuscript A. till that copy ceases, and generally with manuscript B. to the year 1203; afterwards it is wholly different, and has fewer and briefer notices of Wales, and these have mostly an air of partiality towards the English. Its chronology, like that of manuscript B., is founded, first, on the length of reign of the several emperors, and afterwards on the repetition of the word 'annus.' The former portion, from causes similar to those already described with respect to manuscript B., is utterly false; the latter portion, down to the year 1135, is subject to the same kind of errors as that manuscript. But after that date the 'annus' is more carefully noted; and, so far as the means of verifying the chronology occur during the remainder of the work, it is generally right. The years 1286 and 1288, which are in a later hand, have the date of the Incarnation prefixed. From about the year 1016 to the year 1200, this manuscript has some leaves of parchment in-

ANN. CAMB.

"After the year 1203 it becomes wholly different from B., and has fewer and briefer notices of Wales; whilst these have mostly an air of partiality towards the English. We conclude, therefore, that this portion, occupying eighty-five years, was the work of a distinct party evidently in the interest of the English king.

"From about the year 1016 to the year 1200, this manuscript has some leaves of parchment interposed, containing brief notices of English affairs. To the year 1135 they are abridged from Florence of Worcester and his continuator; afterwards they are taken from another source, and have frequent mention of the bishops of Worcester. Each notice has a reference to its intended place in the text; but these references are very faulty throughout as to time, and are wholly omitted in the present volume.

"The chronology of manuscript C., like that of manuscript B., is founded, first, on the length of reign of the several emperors, and afterwards on the repetition of the word 'annus.' The former portion, from causes similar to those already described relative to manuscript B., is utterly erroneous; the latter portion, down to A.D. 1135, is subject to the same kind of error as that manuscript. But after that date the 'annus' is more carefully noted; and, as far as can be ascertained, the chronology is generally right.

"As manuscript A. is evidently the most ancient, and therefore the most historically valuable of the three copies which we have thus considered, it has been adopted as the basis, as far as it goes, of the present edition, being collated with manuscripts B. and C. When manuscript A. ceases, manuscript B. has been used as the text, collated with manuscript C. Such additional matter as was afforded by collation, and would cohere with the text, has been inserted throughout in brackets, except that portion which in the copies B. and C. relates to events preceding the middle of the fifth century. This preliminary matter, inasmuch as it was prefixed at a much later period to the original form of the chronicle, as it stands in manuscript A., and is consequently worthless in a historical point of view, has been altogether omitted from the text, but is nevertheless inserted at the close of the preface.

"The variations of the different copies are inserted at the foot of the page, and are referred to by a small numeral; and when more words than one are meant, a tick is used to indicate the termination of the passage in the text.

MON. HIST.

terposed containing some brief notices of English affairs. To the year 1135 they are abridged from Florence of Worcester and his Continuator; afterwards they are taken from another source, and have frequent mention of the bishops of Worcester. Each notice has a reference to its intended place in the text; but these references are very faulty throughout as to time, and in the portion of the chronicle now given are wholly omitted. It may be added that extracts from this copy, which, under the year 735, is attributed to Beda, have been printed by H. Wharton in the '*Anglia Sacra*.'

"§ 263.—From the foregoing statement it will readily appear that whatever relates to events preceding the middle of the fifth century, in the copies B. and C., has been prefixed at a later period to the original form of the chronicle as it stands in manuscript A.; and that, historically, such preliminary matter is worthless. That portion, therefore, has been omitted in this collection; and the chronicle is printed, even with its errors, from manuscript A., collated with manuscripts B. and C.; and, when manuscript A. ceases, from manuscript B. collated with manuscript C. to the year 1066; and such additional matter as was afforded by collation, and would cohere with the text, has been inserted throughout in brackets. So long as manuscript A. continues, a numeral has been supplied for each intervening 'annus'; and in order to afford a real approximation to the common era, the date of 444 has been assumed as concurrent with its first 'annus,' and the year of the Incarnation constantly affixed down to the year 954, which would then correspond with the year 510 of that manuscript.

ANN. CAMB.

"So long as manuscript A. continues, a numeral has been supplied for each 'annus' which is mentioned; and in order to have an approximation to the common era, the date 444, as already stated, has been assumed as concurrent with its first 'annus'; and the Christian year has been constantly affixed to each register of events down to 964, which would then correspond with the year 510 of that manuscript. From that period forward, the chronology of the manuscripts B. and C. is so irregular and erroneous, that it has been found impossible to reduce it to order; wherefore the real dates have been sought for, as far as they were attainable, from other and more trustworthy authorities which notice the same events, such as the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, until we come to 1097, when manuscript B. adopts the year of Christ, and is thus followed in the margin." (Pref., pp. xxvii-xxix.)

MON. HIST.

"§ 964.—With respect to the remainder of the period to the year 1066, the chronological notation of the manuscripts B. and C., as has been already remarked, is so irregular and erroneous, that all attempts to reduce it to order have been unavailing; and the only resource which remained was to afford such occasional approximations to the dates of certain events as were attainable from synchronisms discoverable in the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and other authentic sources." (Pref., pp. 93-4.)

These extracts justify the opinion expressed above, that it would have been better to print the original preface *verbatim*, with the new superfluous matter condensed in a few notes, rather than to dislocate the first editor's composition after this fashion, and then throw to the public his *disiecta membra*.

We now come to the manner in which the text of the *Annales* is given to the world. All that portion of it, as we said above, which extends to the year 1066, was published in the *Monumenta*; and the corresponding portion in this new edition is only a reprint of it. We observe, however, that several useful short notes which were put at the foot of each page by the former editor, are omitted by the present one; and it is a subject for regret. Probably it was found inconvenient to continue them; and this is the main fault of both old and new editions,—the notes are not copious enough. There is superabundant matter for annotation; and since it has scarcely been attempted up to this time, we hope that some future British historian and critic will undertake the task and complete it. Aneurin Owen left behind him a large body of materials for this purpose; and, had he lived, we should very likely have found a good selection of notes added to each Chronicle. The text, therefore, of this new edition is correct down to the year 1066; but from that period to the end, in the year 1288, we meet with numerous errors, which convince us that the original MSS. have not been properly, if at all, collated. It is said that the new editor is not strong in palæography; and the condition of the text makes us suspect that he used transcripts,—not Aneurin Owen's,—but others, into which errors had crept from the persons employed to transcribe not being themselves familiar with names of places and persons mentioned in this Chronicle; as well as sometimes careless in decyphering the contractions with which the original MSS. abound. It is certain that the editor never himself

attempted to collate the original MSS. in the Record Office, and we suspect he never did so either with those in the British Museum. For instance, at p. 41, we find the word "*Pentocosten*," where rapid transcription has caused the insertion of *o* instead of *e*; and, unless the transcriber were versed in Greek, the error might have passed unnoticed: but it ought to have been detected by the editor. At p. 31 the word "*consules*," and at p. 41, "*consulem*," are found. In the original MS. these were probably *comites* and *comitem* contracted, and read erroneously by the transcriber. At p. 43 we find "*castellum Kermerd*," where the transcriber has omitted the insertion of the contraction over the *d*; but the editor, had he collated the original MS., could have supplied the deficiency, and read *Kermerdin*. At p. 108 we observe "*munitiones apud Bangor et apud Rayraron*." The transcriber mistook the mediæval K for R. But what excuse is this for the editor? And again, p. 109, "*Eadwardus rex Angliæ transfretavit in Franciam et fuit nobilissime Parysius*,"—a mistake of transcription for *Parysis*. But the editor ought to have known the mediæval appellation of the French capital. And so, on the same page, "*Dynewr*" for *Dynevor*, the mistake of an inexperienced transcriber wanting correction. One of the most curious errors, however, is the following, which has been pointed out to us by a learned friend. At p. 103 we read in the printed text: "*Comes Glovernæ cum magno exercitu per cautelam intravit in civitatem Londoniæ domino Oto legato existenti in turri Londoniæ, ubi tenuit comes Pasetra suum contra voluntatem regis*,"—a passage which at one glance almost supplies its own correction. But on referring to the index we find the editor translating or abridging it in the following manner: "*Pasetra detains Otho, the Pope's legate, in the Tower of London, against the King's will*!" The transcriber had written "*pascha*" not very legibly, and the editor was unable to detect the gibberish which his reading has made of it. Had he been able to collate the original MS., such a blunder could hardly have occurred. Again, at p. 108, "*Villa Hauerfordia recuperavit libertates suas*," is rendered by the editor in his index as "*the village of Haverford*," etc.!

In p. 43 we read, "*Ducti sunt monachi ordinis Cysterciencis, qui modo sunt apud Albam Candam in West Walliam*," etc. The editor ought at once to have seen that the transcriber had mistaken *l* for *c*; and that what is meant is the monastery of Alba Landa, or White-lands, in Carmarthenshire,—unless, indeed, as a venerable member of the Association once did, he might consider it the name of a lady! In p. 46 we have "*Dynas Basic*," because the transcriber omitted the contraction over the last syllable of the second word; which, if the editor had supplied it from the original MS., we should have immediately recognized as *Dinas Basing*,—the castle near Basingwerk Abbey; the latter being probably so called from its being placed near Basing's Werk, or work, or castle. In p. 99 we read, "*Idem vero dominus Edwardus rediit in Angliam, et invenit patrem suum in alba turre Londoniæ, timuerat enim sibi a xii paribus equorum providentiæ commiserat regnum gubernandum*," etc. How could the editor pass the word *equorum* without a note of correction? In p. 98 the tran-

scriber wrote, "Resus Bethan," because a mediæval *c* may sometimes, by the inexperienced, be taken for a *t*, and the *U* for a *B*: accordingly, at p. 106, we find the transcriber putting it correctly as "Resi Vechan." But the editor ought to have collated the MS. for so manifest an error; nor, indeed, should he have passed over the next words, "dominos Deyskennen," for "dominos de yskennen."

As in the case of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the new editor appends to this volume what he calls a "Glossary." But we cannot compliment the Master of the Rolls on his expenditure of public money in printing it. It is full of the most commonplace words needing no explanation; and barren of all satisfactory explanation in cases where words really require it.

Thus: "BARO. A degree of nobility next to a viscount, but in point of antiquity the highest. 1 *Bl. Com.* 398." Does the editor mean to quote Blackstone's *Commentaries* here? Had he never consulted Ducange's *Glossarium* for the meaning of this word?

"PAPA, the pope. This term was anciently applied to some clergymen in the Greek Church; but by usage it is particularly appropriated in the Latin Church to the Bishop of Rome, who formerly had great authority in these kingdoms. *St.* 25, *Ed.* 3. *St.* 6. 4 *Bl. Com.* 104." Is this all he has to say about it?

We pick out the following at random:

"ABBATIA. A society of religious persons having an abbot or abbess to preside over them: an abbey."

"AEX. A tower, a castle."

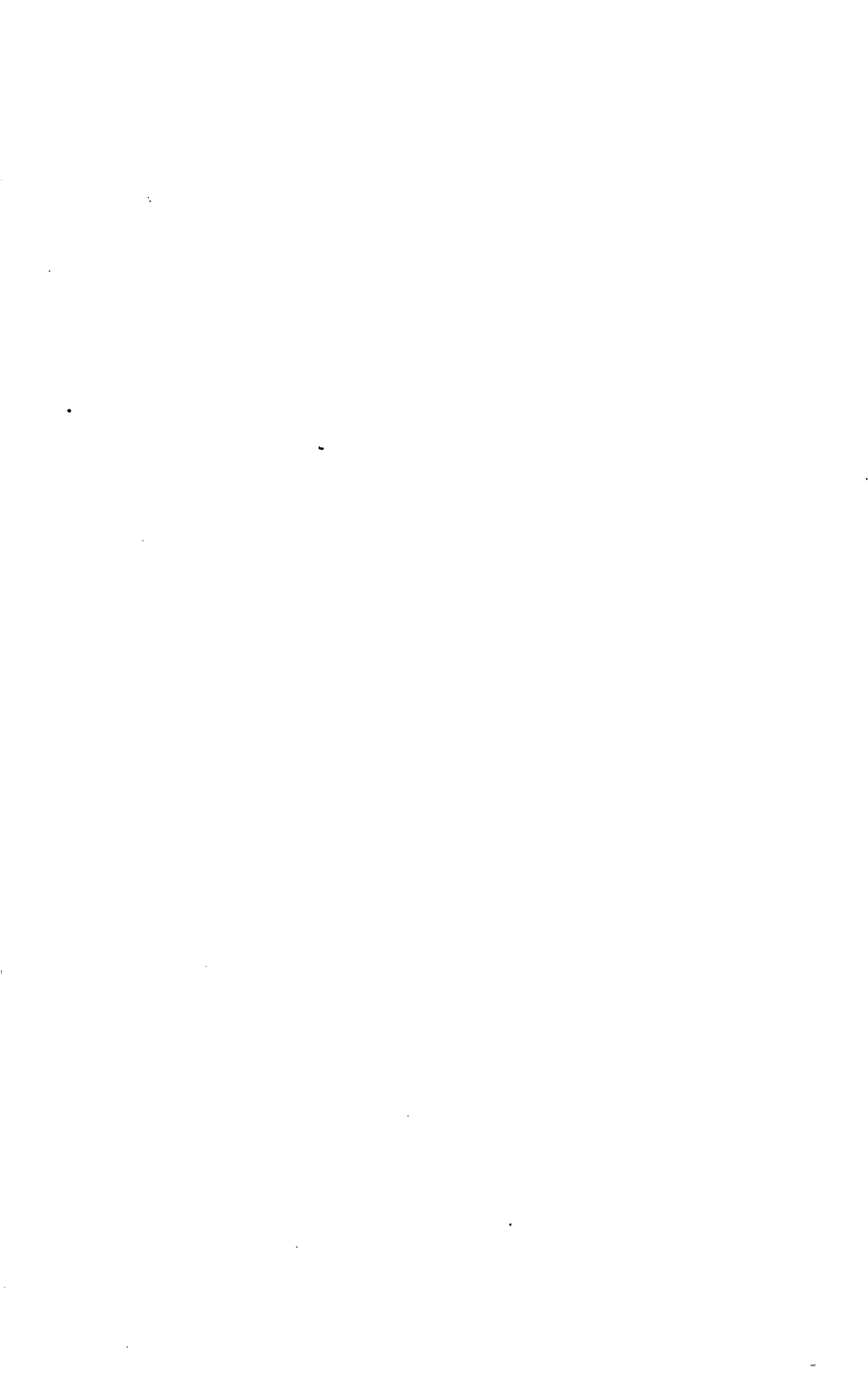
"CABALLUS. A horse, a jade."

"CASTRUM. A fortress. A place fortified by walls; larger than a *castellum*, less than an *oppidum*."

"TERRA SANCTA. The Holy Land"; etc., etc.

Under the head *Dies* the Glossary contains a list of the days in the week,—*Dies Jovis*, etc.; and then of Saints,—*Dies Sancti Nicholai*, etc.; all with their common translations appended. And so, too, under the words *festum* and *vigilia*. The editor is even at the pains of inserting "SONIPES, a courser," from the old *Gradus ad Parnassum*; "SIGILLUM, a seal,"—and so on. But is rubbish of this kind to be taken as constituting a glossary?

We cannot but be thankful to the Master of the Rolls for having given us the remainder of the text of the *Annales*, such as it is, though the original MSS. will evidently again require collation in order that this text may be corrected. At the same time it is impossible to avoid a feeling of regret when we find such an important book so strangely edited.



THE FARDEL STONE.



FIG. 1.

Face, seen in perspective to show the left edge at A.

The right edge showing the seventeen scores which cross the angle and show on the edge of the stone at B.

SIZE OF STONE.

	in
Total length	6.3
Width	2.40
Thickness	0.7

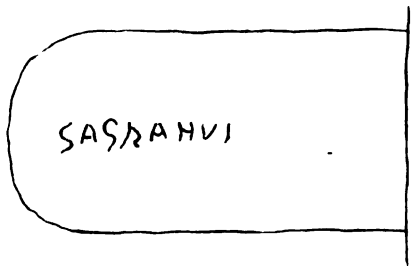


FIG. 3.

The opposite face of the stone, showing no scores on it.

The scores on side A are wider apart than scores on side B; some of the lines across the scores on side A seem accidental.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

SWANSEA MEETING, 1861.

THE Fifteenth Annual Meeting, held at Swansea, commenced on Monday, August 26, 1861.

Active preparations had been previously made by a Local Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

Local Committee.

LEWIS LLEWELYN DILLWYN, Esq., F.L.S., M.P., *Chairman*.

Lieut.-Col. EDWARD ROBERT WOOD, F.G.S., High Sheriff, *Vice-Chairman*.

H. A. Bruce, Esq., M.P., Aberdare	W. H. Michael, Esq., Swansea
C. Bath, Esq., Swansea	Lieut.-Col. E. Morgan, R.A., St. Helens
S. Benson, Esq., F.G.S., Fairy Hill, Gower	C. Nevill, Esq., Llanelly
J. P. Budd, Esq., F.G.S., Ystalyfera	W. Price, Esq., Glantwrog
J. Biddulph, Esq., Dderwenfawr	T. Penrice, Esq., Kilvrough
Lieut.-Col. G. T. Clarke, Dowlais	R. K. Penson, Esq., F.S.A., Ferryside
Rev. S. Davies, Oystermouth	T. Prichard, Esq., Taibach
Evan Davies, Esq., LL.D., Swansea	Major Roney, Swansea
Rev. J. D. Davies, Merthyr	J.C. Richardson, Esq., Mayor of Swansea
Rev. J. Davies, Cheriton	E. M. Richards, Esq., Swansea
Robert Eaton, Esq., Brynymor	James Richardson, Esq., Glanrafon
G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A., Cae Bailey	Rev. E. B. Squire, Vicarage, Swansea
Rev. J. Griffith, M.A., Merthyr	W. P. Struvé, Esq., F.G.S., Cwmavon
Howell Gwyn, Esq., M.A., Duffryn	Alfred Sterry, Esq., Oystermouth
H. Horman Fisher, Esq., Swansea	C. R. M. Talbot, Esq., F.R.S., M.P., Margam Park
Edward Howell, Esq., M.D., Swansea	Theod. M. Talbot, Esq., Penrice Castle
J. T. Jenkin, Esq., Swansea	Thomas E. Thomas, Esq., Glanmor
J. W. James, Esq., Swansea	Utid Thomas, Esq., Hill House
Rev. H. Longueville Jones, M.A., Tynmaen	N. V. E. Vaughan, Esq., Rheola
Rev. E. James, M.A., Penmaen	T. Wood, Esq., Sketty
J. D. Llewelyn, Esq., F.R.S., Penllergaer	Rev. E. M. Welby, M.A., Sketty
J. T. D. Llewelyn, Esq., Ynisgygerwn	David Williams, Esq., F.L.S., Swansea
Rev. P. Lewis, Swansea	A. Williams, Esq., Neath
M. Moggridge, Esq., F.G.S., The Wil- lows, Swansea	T. Williams, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Swansea

Local Treasurer.

GEORGE YOUNG, Esq., Glamorganshire Bank, Swansea.

Local Secretaries.

GEO. GRANT FRANCIS, Esq., F.S.A., Swansea; Rev. JOHN GRIFFITH, M.A.,
Merthyr; MATTHEW MOGGIDGE, Esq., F.G.S., Swansea.

Corresponding Local Secretary.

J. N. SMART, Esq., 10, Quay Parade, Swansea.

Curators of the Local Museum.

GEO. GRANT FRANCIS, Esq., F.S.A.; Mr. R. READY.

To assist towards the expenses of the meeting, a local fund had been raised, by the exertions of Mr. J. N. Smart, the Corresponding Local Secretary, on whom more particularly had devolved the more onerous duties of making the various necessary arrangements.

H. Hussey Vivian, Esq., M.P. (President), Parkwern, Swansea	£10	0	0
The Dowager Countess of Dunraven	-	-	5 0 0
W. E. Vaughan, Esq., Rheola, near Neath	-	-	5 0 0
H. A. Bruce, Esq., M.P., Merthyr Tydfil	-	-	2 2 0
James P. Budd, Esq., Ystalyfera, Swansea	-	-	2 2 0
G. T. Clarke, Esq., Dowlais House, Merthyr Tydfil	-	-	2 2 0
The Queen's Advocate, Glanogwr, Bridgeend	-	-	2 2 0
C. Nevill, Esq., Llanelly, Carmarthenshire	-	-	2 2 0
Lewis L. Dillwyn, Esq., M.P., Hendrefoilal, Swansea	-	-	2 0 0
Charles Bath, Esq., Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
T. J. Jenkin, Esq., Mirador, Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
Joseph Marriott, Esq., Maes-y-dderwen, Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
W. Price, Esq., M.D., Glantwrc, Brecon	-	-	1 1 0
James Richardson, Esq., Glanyrafon, Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
Alfred Sterry, Esq., Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
Thomas E. Thomas, Esq., Glanmor, Swansea	-	-	1 1 0
Starling Benson, Esq., Fairy Hill, Swansea	-	-	1 0 0
Howell Gwyn, Esq., Dyffryn, Neath	-	-	1 0 0
Rawleigh A. Mansell, Esq., Swansea	-	-	1 0 0
M. Moggridge, Esq., Swansea	-	-	1 0 0
J. C. Richardson, Esq., the Mayor of Swansea, Uplands, Swansea	1	0	0
Major Roney, H.M. Inspec. R.V., Swansea	-	-	1 0 0
Lieut-Col. Wood, Stouthall, Swansea	-	-	1 0 0
H. Horman-Fisher, Esq., Swansea	-	-	0 10 6
Rev. Peter Lewis, Swansea	-	-	0 10 6
Rev. Alexander Melville Park, St. David's	-	-	0 10 6
H. L. Prichard, Esq., Taibach, Glamorgan	-	-	0 10 6
Rev. E. B. Squire, Vicar of Swansea	-	-	0 10 6
Townshend Wood, Esq., Sketty, Swansea	-	-	0 10 6
Rev. J. Lloyd, Oxwich, Swansea	-	-	0 10 0
W. H. Michael, Esq., Swansea	-	-	0 10 0
George Byng Morris, Esq., Sketty Park, Swansea	-	-	0 10 0
David Williams, Esq., Swansea	-	-	0 10 0
Rev. E. K. James, Penmaen, Swansea	-	-	0 5 0
Nicholas Harrington, Esq., Swansea	-	-	0 5 0
			<hr/>
			£52 10 0

MONDAY, AUGUST 26TH.

SOON after the time mentioned in the programme, Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, Bart., in the absence of the outgoing President, moved that Mr. HUSSEY VIVIAN should assume the Presidential Chair.

Mr. VIVIAN, in commencing his address, expressed his regret that Mr. Wynne, the late President, in consequence of a meeting of his constituents, which he was obliged to attend, was not able to take any share in the proceedings of the week. In welcoming the members on this occasion to Swansea, he claimed their indulgence, and of the meeting in general; for, although he took a most lively interest in the things of the past, yet his time and attention were principally directed to the present and the future, as regarded the great and important interests represented in this active and industrial district. He should therefore, he was afraid, expose his ignorance if he attempted any learned disquisition of an archæological character, especially in the presence of so many gentlemen, who had devoted their time and attention to the various branches of that science. No one, however, could feel more deeply than himself the value and importance of the benefits which had been effected by such investigations. There was a natural desire planted in the human mind, which prompted it to inquire into the history and manners of prior races of mankind. From such a feeling, carried into practice through the aid of archæology—using the term in its most general acceptation—we had been enabled to learn more or less of the manners, customs, arts, religious systems of former ages to a remarkable and important extent. So, also, by the kindred science of geology, which, like its sister archæology, had almost sprung into existence during the present century, had men been enabled to read the history of nature at periods far more remote than any which could come under the scope of antiquarian research. In one most important respect, also, there was a striking similarity between the two sciences; namely, the manner in which the discoveries of each so strongly confirmed the truths of revealed religion. For, what the geologist had done as regards the works of nature, the archæologist had effected as regards those of man, and had been enabled thus to illustrate and prove the truth of what is read in sacred writ of the earliest history of the human race. Nineveh, and other cities of the Assyrian empire, had so long been forgotten, that their sites were even matters of doubt and conjecture. The discoveries of late years made on the spot with such success, had not only removed all doubt and speculation, but had confirmed in a remarkable degree what may be gathered from the Scriptures concerning the importance and magnificence of the Assyrian monarchs. How much, also, had not the learning of antiquarian scholars effected towards decyphering the once mysterious hieroglyphics of Egypt, by which we had been enabled to read names and events previously unknown, but which in greater or less degree throw light on various statements of sacred and profane history! He might allude to the

well known Rosetta stone, with its triple inscription of the same record, by means of which a key had been found which disclosed the mystery. Thus, also, had the labours of Rawlinson and others mastered the extraordinary arrow-headed inscriptions which recorded the deeds of the Persian monarchs, so many centuries before the Christian era. Such were some of the results of archæological research. Thus had great truths been discovered or confirmed, fiction dissipated and disproved, and new matter continually laid open for further research and investigation.

Most present had probably studied the history of Ancient Greece and Rome in their younger years. Many probably had since that time read later works on these subjects by the most eminent writers of the present century, and especially by one who now honoured this meeting with his presence, and than whom no one was more eminent—the Bishop of St. David's (loud applause). Great, however, as the pleasure they received from the perusal of such works, yet, when they stood upon the ground once trodden by Greek and Roman, and surveyed with their own eyes the magnificent remains of their buildings and works of art, and were thus as it were brought face to face with them, they then felt with more intense interest the truth of the histories they had read. He spoke from his own experience; for he had looked down from the Capitol with wonder on those Roman temples, tombs, and triumphal arches erected to the honour of illustrious emperors, and had on those occasions felt the accuracy of historic truth brought home to his mind in the most vivid and forcible manner.

In the country where they were now assembled, although the objects of antiquarian interest extended over a very large area, they were not of course of the same magnitude or importance as those to which he had alluded. There was, however, no scarcity of objects well worth their attention, such as the so-called Druidic altars, of which Arthur's Stone was so fine an example, early British earthworks and burial-places, remains of Roman walls and of aqueducts, mediæval castles and abbeys; all of which, he thought, the members present who had not seen them would consider well worth a careful examination.

But it was not merely on account of its mediæval remains, numerous and valuable as they were, that the Peninsula of Gower was a place of such interest. There was a particular interest connected with it as regarded the population; concerning which, although many speculations had been offered, yet no satisfactory explanation, as far as he knew, had been given. The general impression, however, was that the inhabitants were the descendants of Flemish settlers; but to this theory he thought an insuperable difficulty existed; for he could not understand how it was possible for such a colony to have completely lost every trace of their native country, nor was there any single place in the whole of Gower which retained in its name the least trace of Flemish origin. He believed that the most consistent and easy explanation was, that the present race were simply the descendants of the retainers of the early Normans, who first seized and held the district.

On the conclusion of his address, the President called on the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, one of the General Secretaries, to read the annual report:—

ANNUAL REPORT.

“On the occasion of the last meeting, at Bangor, the attention of members was directed towards the comparison of the northern and southern counties of the Principality, as regards the support contributed by each division. It was then shown that three north-western counties, taken together, did not at that time number as many members as the single county of Flint. In consequence, however, of the meeting of Bangor, such is no longer the case. The Association, on the present occasion, congratulates itself on holding its fifteenth annual meeting in a county which reckons as many members as those three counties alluded to, together with Flintshire added to them, even with their late increase of members.

“Although, however, the Association, as regards its numerical strength and pecuniary resources, continues to exhibit the same satisfactory progress, yet it is necessary to remind the members in general that other elements are required, if the Society is to continue to progress, or even to remain as it is. The primary object of the first originators of the Association, was to form a record of the antiquities of Wales and its Marches, and to preserve many of the antiquities, which are yearly vanishing, either from neglect or deliberate violence. To carry out this plan efficiently, it is evident that there must be a much more general active cooperation on the part of members than hitherto has been the case: for it is with regret that the Editorial Committee receive little or no assistance from the great body of members, as regards accurate drawings, illustrations, notes, etc.

“And this consideration leads to one of a still more serious and important character; namely, how far the contingency of continued health, and the effects of time (especially as regards one gentleman, on whom almost the whole labour and responsibility fall), may not lead to such a serious interruption as almost to affect the existence of the Association. It remains, therefore, for the younger and more active members to be prepared to succeed in their turn, when the older ones are worn out.

“From the report of the Bangor meeting, the members have been informed of the resolution of the General Committee that the Journal of the Association and that of the Cambrian Institute should not emanate from the same printer's office, and that Mr. Mason should in the first place be allowed his option. Mr. Mason preferring to print the Journal of the Institute, the printing of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* was offered to and accepted by Mr. Richards, of Great Queen Street, London, whose tender was the lowest of those sent in in 1858, and who would then have been appointed printer to the Association, but for the unwillingness of your Committee to discontinue their connection with Mr. Mason, who had been so many years connected with the Journal.

“Mr. Mason subsequently demanded £100 for what he termed the copyright of the Journal, which demand was not, under legal advice, admitted.

"Your Committee would propose that a Sub-Committee should be formed, to prepare a limited number of questions as to the remains of various kinds existing in each parish. If the resident gentry and clergy would kindly cooperate in this plan, much valuable information would probably be obtained, more especially from those districts which are the most remote and least frequented.

"Your Committee are of opinion that, if their recommendation is carried into effect, and a Sub-Committee is formed for the purpose, it would be well to circulate the questions at first over a small area, and if the result of the experiment were satisfactory, it might be extended throughout the Principality.

"A correspondence has been carried on between your Committee and the Manx Society, who have expressed a wish that the Association would select the Isle of Man as the place of their meeting in 1862. There is little doubt but that this visit, if carried out, would be one of interest and advantage; but there are difficulties connected with it, which will have to be discussed by the General Committee during the meeting.

"Proposals have also been received from Cornwall and Hereford, which will also come under the consideration of the Committee at the same time.

"The supplemental volume (*Historia Britannia*, from an unpublished MS.), the editing of which has been undertaken by M. Francisque Michel, Professor of Literature in the University of Bordeaux, has been delayed by causes not yet ascertained. As it was arranged that the volume should be printed at Bordeaux, it is probable that the delay exists only with the printer.

"The members, however, have received, or should have received, another supplemental volume, *The Survey of Gower*, which is of peculiar interest to such as are any way connected with the district surveyed.

"Causes over which your Committee have no control have retarded the publication of the volume, the object of which is to give a general outline of the various classes of Welsh antiquities. It will, however, be proceeded with as soon as circumstances admit.

"Since the last annual meeting, the Association has lost one of its earliest and staunchest friends by the death of the late Earl of Cawdor. How kindly and warmly he entered into the proceedings and purposes of the Society, and how much personally he contributed to the pleasure and success of the meetings of Tenby and Llandilo, need not be recalled to the recollection of those who had the opportunity of attending those meetings. Nor is it necessary on this occasion to allude to his efficient preservation of the ancient castles on his estates, and more particularly to his restoring and rebuilding of the churches in his neighbourhood, as notices of these good works have already appeared in the pages of the Journal.

"The balance in the banker's hands exceeds £50, a much smaller sum than this time last year. There are, however, available subscriptions unpaid, and arrears, to the amount of upwards of £200; so that, in spite of the dilatory payment of members, the financial part of the Association is in a satisfactory condition.

"Your Committee recommend that the names of the Marquis of Camden, the Earl of Cawdor, and Lord Boston, be placed on the list of patrons.

"It is with regret that the Committee announce the resignation of F. Lloyd Phillips, Esq., who has held the office of General Secretary since the year 1855, and has, during that period, rendered the Association the most important services. They recommended that the cordial thanks of the Association be voted to that gentleman for his efficient services to the Society.

"Your Committee have great pleasure in recommending W. Lawrence Banks, Esq., of Brecon, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, as the successor to Mr. Lloyd Phillips, and the Rev. Garnons Williams as the successor of Mr. Banks, to one of the local secretaryships for Brecknockshire.

"The retiring members of the Committee are C. C. Babington, Esq., F.S.A., J. D. Nichol Carne, D.C.L., F.S.A., and Talbot Bury, Esq.; and your Committee recommend the re-election of these gentlemen.

"By the fifth rule, however, any member is at liberty to propose any other person or persons in the place of any of those gentlemen now recommended by the Committee; for which purpose a paper will be left in the place of meeting until Thursday next, to receive any names that may be proposed.

"Since the last annual meeting, the following noblemen and gentry have joined the Association; and, as usual, their elections are now to be confirmed by this meeting.

"NORTH WALES: The Lord Boston, Porthamel, Anglesey; George Casson, Esq., Ffestiniog; John Gitten, Esq., Severnside, Newtown; the Rev. Maurice Jones, Llangyniew, Newtown; the Rev. Thos. Roberts, M.A., Beaumaris; F. Lloyd Williams, Esq., Denbigh.

SOUTH WALES: The Marquis Camden; the Ven. Archdeacon North, Lampeter; the Rev. M. A. Farrar, Swansea; and the Rev. J. Williams, Sketty.

"ENGLAND, etc.: Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, London; Lieut.-Col. Stepney, London; Professor Simpson, Edinburgh; G. Gilbert Scott, Esq., F.S.A., London."

Mr. MOGGIDGE, in moving that the report be approved and adopted, took that opportunity of expressing, on behalf of himself and the members generally, his deep regret at the resignation of Fred. Lloyd Phillips, Esq., of his office of General Secretary, which he had held for so many years, to the great advantage of the Association.

Mr. FREEMAN, being requested by the President, entered into an exposition of the principal features of conventual arrangements, preparatory to his examination of the abbeys of Neath and Margam. He first distinguished between the arrangement of collegiate or secular, and that of conventual, religious, or regular churches. The buildings of a secular college follow no certain rule; they may be attached to the church, or they may stand distinct; they may form one group, or they may be quite detached houses; the cloister, though often found, is by no means necessary, and it is often omitted. The one essential building besides the church is the chapter-house, which, in a secular

college, is always closely attached to the church, most commonly indeed being actually part of it, and having no approach except from the church. In a monastery, it follows from the common life of the inhabitants, that all the buildings, church, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory—all form one great whole. They all join the cloister, which, in a monastery, becomes a matter of prime necessity, being the connecting link and means of communication between the several parts. The chapter-house has no special connexion with the church, and is not commonly approached from it; but between them there usually lies a little dark passage, the use of which is not very clear. The arrangements of these buildings differ greatly in different orders; the most marked difference being that which distinguishes the churches and houses of the older order of monks, such as the Benedictines and Cistercians, from those of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars. To take one distinction among many, he knew no instance of a Friars' church being cruciform; which he need tell no one was the common, almost the universal, shape of the old abbey churches. He then went on to describe the different parts of a conventual or other great church. Once within the church, there was not necessarily any difference between the constructive arrangements of a secular and a regular foundation. All mediæval churches, great and small, consist of three essential parts—the nave, for the people; east of this, the choir with the stalls for the clergy; east of this again, the presbytery, containing the high altar and its appurtenances. Around these essential portions were grouped aisles, chapels, and transepts, at pleasure. But these ritual divisions might or might not coincide with the main architectural divisions. The choir was by no means always in the eastern limb of the cross; it was often in the western limb, and still more commonly under the central tower. This distinction between ritual and architectural divisions should be carefully borne in mind, otherwise the arrangements of old churches are very likely to be misunderstood. Mr. Freeman then spoke of the common arrangement, by no means generally understood, by which a church was divided between the monks and the parishioners, so that what were ritually and legally two churches existed within what was architecturally one church.* In these cases, the building was usually divided by a solid screen or wall, the parishioners taking the western part and the monks the eastern. West of this screen, the parishioners made a perfect church, with its own high altar and its own choir. To the east of it the monks had their choir, with a space between (not uncommonly the square of the central tower) left to form a small nave or ante-chapel. This arrangement may be studied in many churches: among the best examples are Dunster in Somersetshire, Wymondham and Binham in Norfolk, and Ewenny in Glamorganshire. At the Dissolution, the eastern portions of these churches, as belonging to the monks, came into the hands of the king and his grantees, and were preserved, destroyed, or merely unroofed, according to the pleasure of their new owners. But the Dissolution in no way affected the rights of the parishioners in their part of the building, which was in

* See Gentleman's Magazine, July 1860, p. 66.

the same legal position as any other parish church. This is the reason why we see so many fine churches imperfect, the western or parochial portion alone remaining. Thus, to take Welsh examples only, at Usk the monastic portion of the church is quite gone; at Monkton, near Pembroke, it is in ruins; while at Ewenny it is still standing, roofed, and nearly perfect, though no longer used for divine service.† It will be necessary to bear all these distinctions in mind while examining Margam and Neath. At Margam the church was divided between the monks and the parish; the consequence is that the western part of the church is still standing and in use, while the eastern is in ruins. At Neath the parishioners had nothing to do with the abbey church; they had a separate parish church a good way off: the consequence is that the whole of the abbey church came into the king's hands, and was disused and ruined. Mr. Freeman said that, as there was not very much architectural history in either of the abbeys to be visited, he would keep the mass of his architectural remarks for the next day on the spot. He would, however, mention the well known and beautiful chapter-house at Margam. This was the earliest polygonal chapter-house he knew, unless that of Worcester cathedral, the details of which he did not remember, should happen to be earlier. The polygonal form is purely a sign of date, and does not mark the nature of the foundation. The earliest and the latest chapter-houses are oblong, as at Durham, Gloucester, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter; the intermediate ones, those belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are polygonal. They are found both in monasteries, as at Westminster, Worcester, and Margam, and in secular colleges, as at Wells, Lincoln, Salisbury, Lichfield, York, and Southwell. The chapter-house at Llandaff is something between the two types; it is square, but has a central pillar. At Margam, Mr. Freeman said, there is not much left of the domestic buildings of the monastery; but at Neath they are very extensive. They are, however, greatly confused by the substructures only of a great portion being preserved, over which a large house had been built at the time of the Dissolution. This process had produced many perplexities, which he professed himself unable to unravel, and regretted the absence of the great master of domestic architecture, Mr. Parker. The Somersetshire and the Cambrian Societies had unluckily contrived to fix their meetings for the same days, which had deprived Mr. Parker of the pleasure of being at Swansea, and himself of the pleasure of being at Langport. He would only say that the announcement of a luncheon the next day in the refectory, was a promise which could not possibly be fulfilled: no place could be more suitable, if the refectory existed; but unluckily the refectory had vanished, leaving only just traces enough to show that it occupied its usual position parallel to the nave of the church. He had, indeed, seen every preparation making for an excellent repast; but it was making, not in the non-existent refectory, but in a singularly fine substructure, apparently under some part of the abbot's house, but of which Mr. Parker,

† See Arch. Camb., 1857, p. 114, et seq.

had he been present, would doubtless have been able to give a full explanation.

Mr. BARNWELL inquired of Mr. Freeman whether he was aware of any example in England where the seats of the bishop and clergy were grouped behind the high altar against the wall of the east end, as was so frequently the case in France?

Mr. FREEMAN replied, that he was not aware of a single instance where that plan had been adopted in an English mediæval church. It was the original basilican arrangement, and had been introduced into French churches at a comparatively modern date.

The BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, thanking Mr. Freeman for the very clear illustration he had given the meeting of the peculiarities of conventual arrangements, wished to be informed whether, in such establishments, private chapels were ever attached to the prior's house. -

Mr. FREEMAN answered in the affirmative, and quoted Ely as an instance; to which the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne added that of Wenlock in Shropshire.

Mr. HARTSHORNE, in alluding to the various theories regarding the small apartment constantly found between the transept and chapter-house, thought the more probable explanation was, that the chamber was merely a sitting-room for the monks between the intervals of service.

Sir JOHN HARDING stated that, having lately visited the remains of Jumièges abbey in Normandy, he had been informed that it was firmly believed that the chapter-house had been bought by some English gentleman or nobleman, who had removed and rebuilt the structure in his own park in England.

The PRESIDENT then gave notice of the arrangements for the succeeding day, and the meeting broke up.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27.

THE EXCURSION.

With a punctuality somewhat unusual on these occasions, owing to the excellent arrangements as to the supply of carriages, more than a hundred excursionists started for the first expedition, the two great features of which were Margam and Neath Abbeys. The visitors having visited the interior of Margam church, chapter-house, and other parts of the structure,

Mr. FREEMAN explained the principal features of the church and conventual buildings. The parish church still remains, though so much mutilated and disfigured that it is almost impossible to tell whether any portion is really original, except at the west end, where a fine fragment of the original west front has been left untouched. The west doorway and the triplet of windows over it are good late Norman work, with the shafts both of the doorway and the windows several times banded. The piers are very plain Norman work, if original; if not, they are much better imitations than the hideous windows in the aisles. The late Norman character of the west front

agrees with the date of the foundation of the monastery, which took place about 1150; the west end of the nave might easily be as much as twenty or thirty years later. It is clearly the last finish of the original church; the eastern part having been, as so commonly happened, rebuilt on a larger scale in the next century. The chapter-house was the first addition; this is a little later in date than the west front, and exhibits a mixture of the Norman and Early English styles. The eastern or monastic portion of the church is a step later again, being unmixed Early English. This part is ruined; the south transept is nearly perfect, but of the rest little more remains than enough to make out the general ground plan. The parish church, as at Binham, did not take up the whole of the western limb; the monks' choir was probably under the central tower, with a bay or two between it and the east end of the parish church, left void as a sort of antechapel to the monks' choir. The monastic buildings have mostly perished, except parts of substructures apparently under the dormitory, and under some parts of the abbot's house.

On returning to the exterior, a large collection of mutilated remains, monumental effigies, portions of tracery, incised slabs, crosses, etc., were examined. The more remarkable of these were two large slabs, having wheels of six spokes, boldly cut and nearly occupying the whole of the surface. One of these stones had also a small cross, rudely incised at the lower extremity of the surface, and evidently later than the wheels; from which some conjectured that these had originally been pagan monuments of some kind, and that one of them at least had been subsequently christianized by the addition of the cross. Similar wheels occur on Etruscan monuments, including coins, as that of Volaterræ; and also, as was stated, on some of the Scottish stones. Others assigning to them a later date, conjectured that they were simply boundary stones of the Abbey land; though the fact of there being six spokes was not explained. In the third volume, p. 59, of the present series of the *Archæologia Cambrænsis*, a cut of a similar stone is given, with some observations of Mr. Westwood, who, in a note at page 57, adds, "We may take this opportunity of expressing a wish that a description of *all* the incised stones, etc., on the Margam abbey estate, together with a complete monograph of the abbey, including its documentary history, were undertaken by some of those learned members of our Association who could so well accomplish this important task." A portion of this work, namely, the description of the abbey, has been undertaken by Mr. Freeman, and will soon appear in the Journal. It is very desirable that the other part of Mr. Westwood's advice should be carried out at once, especially by those members who have more favourable opportunities from their proximity of residence. On another slab is an inscription in minuscule characters, bearing a striking likeness to those found on Irish monuments, and assigned generally to the eighth and ninth centuries. Among the other relics of this miscellaneous collection is a fine cross, also similar to those of Ireland, which seems to have lost a portion of its shaft, if one may judge from the want of proportion between that which remains of it and its

ornamented base. Sculptured bases are extremely rare in Wales. Penmon Cross (visited last year by the Association) still retains such a base; and the font inside the church at the same place has probably been made out of another base, which appears to have belonged to the identical shaft now built into the so-called refectory adjoining the church.

Some of the more active members, under the guidance of Mr. Moggridge, scaled the hill to view an ancient work of the class called British on Pen-y-Castell, but presenting no remarkable features. The less active were satisfied with examining the ruins of a chapel, on the side of the hill above the lake, which appears to have no name or history attached to it, but which still retains sufficient details to fix its date to the fifteenth century; the fine collection of paintings in the modern abbey, the gardens, and more particularly the front of the gardener's house, by Inigo Jones.

On regaining the carriages, the excursionists proceeded direct to Neath Abbey; omitting, for want of time, other objects which had been set down in the programme. Two large pillar stones were passed, and which apparently mark the graves of the ancient inhabitants of this district. Other stones of a similar character have probably once existed on the same spots, but which have long since been removed by improving agriculturists.

Close to Neath bridge a halt was made to examine the remains of the ancient chapel of St. Giles, now degraded into a dilapidated stable or cow-house, but which still retains details of sufficient interest, independent of other considerations, to make it desirable that steps could be taken for its restoration as far as practicable. Some deep splayed Norman single-light windows, and remains of plain arches, are the principal remaining features. A portion of a roof remains, but of a considerably later date.

On arriving at Neath Abbey (for want of time precluded the inspection of the church and castle), the members were received by Mr. Howell Gwyn with the most substantial hospitality, in a large vaulted structure, generally stated and believed to have been the original refectory.

On the conclusion of the luncheon, Professor Babington, supported by Mr. Banks, returned the thanks of the Association to Mr. and Mrs. Howell Gwyn, for their courteous and hospitable reception of the members.

In returning thanks on behalf of himself and Mrs. Gwyn, Mr. Gwyn gave a short sketch of the history of the abbey, mentioning the circumstance that at one time it seems to have been the great and popular college for students, who came from all parts for the purpose of study. Mr. Gwyn then proposed the health of the President, who having replied, that of the Bishop of St. David's, proposed by Mr. G. G. Francis, was drunk with no less vigorous applause than the two preceding toasts.

His Lordship, in acknowledging his thanks, alluded to the question of the refectory, and to the fact that the abbey had once been famous as a school, where all the sciences of the day were

taught—a fact, also, which he had learnt for the first time from their host—and he thought that, if the ancient inhabitants of the building could look up from their graves, they would be gratified to find one portion at least of their beloved building furnishing on this occasion a sample both of the learning and of the hospitality for which it was once so celebrated.

Mr. FREEMAN then pointed out the chief differences between the abbeys of Neath and Margam; the church at Neath being nearly all of a piece, of much the same Early Decorated style as Tintern; and, as Neath was a purely monastic church, the whole had fallen into ruin. He spoke strongly of the contrast between the care evidently bestowed upon the ruined portions of Margam, and the disgraceful neglect of the buildings at Neath. At Neath, the domestic buildings were more important and interesting than the church. He deeply regretted the absence of Mr. Parker, whose especial province was domestic architecture: he would himself do no more than point out the way in which the mansion of the sixteenth century had been built upon the substructures of the monastic buildings, one of which had been mistaken for the refectory. The real refectory, as well as the chapter-house, had vanished; but the site of the refectory could just be made out, parallel, as usual, to the nave of the church.

Mr. Hartshorne and Mr. Octavius Morgan made some observations on certain difficulties as to arriving at any satisfactory explanation of many portions, which had been added on from time to time. It was generally allowed that no satisfactory explanations could be given on many points.

Previous to the meeting, Mr. Francis had given orders for the removal of the soil which covered the original pavement near a side altar, consisting of tiles of the fourteenth century, mostly containing the arms of the founder and other benefactors; a more detailed account of which will be found in Mr. Francis' *History of Neath*. In addition to these heraldic tiles was a hunting scene, which that gentleman thought bore some allusion to monastic zeal as regards the chase and goodly haunches. Plans of the abbey church, and prints of the heraldic tiles, were distributed by Mr. Francis among those present.

EVENING MEETING.

Mr. CLARK, at the summons of the President, rose to give an account of the day's excursion, commenting upon the chief points of interest in the two remarkable abbeys which had that day been visited. In Margam church, he dwelt particularly upon the great size of the piers of the nave, which had a Norman aspect, though he believed them to be modern, as the aisles undoubtedly are. In referring to the water bearing moulding in the west front, he observed that that was the only Gothic moulding that held water; and it was singular that it was found in Cairo and other rainless cities along the east of the Mediterranean, whence he believed it to have been imported by the Crusaders. He pointed out the similarity in plan between the

chapter-house of Margam and the twelve-sided crypt at Morlais Castle; which latter, though of course inferior in decoration, was superior in mechanical skill, the upfilling of the vault between the groins being composed of a light but strong calcareous tufa, formed in the neighbourhood by the trickling over moss of a highly charged calcareous spring. After giving a rapid sketch of what was seen at Neath, he dwelt on the contrast between the care bestowed upon the ruins of the two buildings, and suggested that the attention of Lord Dynevor should be called to the condition of Neath, in the hope that some steps might be taken to arrest the decay of the crypt or sub-structure in which they had dined, and by clearing away the dirt and rubbish to encourage a smooth sward over the unroofed spaces.

Mr. HARTSHORNE, having alluded to the fact of a similar hunting scene existing also in Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, thought that, although the larger portion of Neath Abbey had been erected in the reigns of the two first Edwards, yet some part had been built in the time of Edward III. A peculiar interest, however, attached to this ruin, as being connected with the last days of the second Edward; for, having ascertained from the records the proceedings of every day of his reign, he found that the king left Tintern about the middle of October 1326, passing through Chepstow and Cardiff on his way to Caerphilly. On the 4th of November he was at Margam; and from the 5th to the 7th at Neath. Where he spent the time between the 7th and the 16th is uncertain. He was taken on the last mentioned day at Llantrisant; and on the 20th resigned the great seal at Monmouth to Sir William Blount. On the 28th he was at Ledbury; and at Kenilworth on the 4th of December, where he remained till the 21st of January, the date of his last writ. Four days afterwards, he died at Berkeley. These notes were followed by several abstracts from divers inquisitions held at Swansea concerning the arms, plate, horses, and other effects sent by Edward to Swansea, immediately before his surrender, which had been seized by different individuals in the neighbourhood.

The BISHOP OF ST. DAVID's thought that the suggestion of Mr. Francis as to the meaning of the hunting scene was utterly inadmissible. Such a view, he thought, was morally impossible; for, even allowing that they had been such zealous patrons of venison and hunting, they would never have deliberately left any record of such predilections, especially in such a manner. Had the figures, however, any meaning at all? He thought not; unless, indeed, as Mr. Clarke had suggested, some allusion to St. Hubert might be supposed to have been intended, and that the side altar, before which they existed, might have been dedicated to that saint. He had also been much surprised that a more satisfactory explanation of the various uses and portions of the domestic buildings of Neath Abbey had not been given. In all such cases, it was necessary to keep in mind the frequent changes that would arise in the arrangements of domestic details, so as to adapt them for present wants, which, judging from the large number of the different chambers, and their spacious dimensions, must have been considerable. One large room in particular, the one that still retained

its lancets, and the use of which was disputed, but which, he thought, might have had an upper floor.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN considered the building in question to have been a portion of the abbot's buildings; though, as he had already stated, he was not able to make out satisfactorily many portions of the ruins.

Mr. G. GRANT FRANCIS having replied to the Bishop of St. David's observation as regards the hunting scene, and given some details connected with his excavations of Neath Abbey in conjunction with the late Rev. H. Hey Knight, alluded to the connection of Edward II with Swansea, and the original marriage contract of that king with Isabella, now exhibited in the temporary museum, as well as a pass from the same Monarch to the Abbot of Neath. Mr. Francis concluded his observations with some remarks on the ancient Norman chapel of St. Giles, now desecrated, as already stated, by its conversion into a dilapidated cow-house.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28.

THE EXCURSION.

A numerous body of excursionists started this morning, under the most favourable auspices as regarded the weather, and, passing by the new church of Sketty, a building of admirable design, erected and endowed by the late John Henry Vivian, Esq., made their first halt at a large low tumulus on the left hand, which had many years ago been explored, and proved to contain the usual sepulchral deposits. It is not impossible, however, but that the excavations then carried out were not extended to the edges of the mound, where it is likely other remains may still be buried. On leaving the tumulus, the carriages proceeded to the base of Llanmadoc hill, where all dismounted to climb to the summit, occupied by an earthwork of the usual character, but particularly strongly fortified, having no less than five deep ditches, protected by ramparts of mingled stones and earth. The interior of the work, however, is very small as compared with the number and strength of the defences. Mr. Moggridge distributed on the spot plans of the work. To the west and south-west are the remains of three or four large stone cairns, beyond which is a pillar stone (not visited) as marked in the Ordnance Map. Whatever date may be assigned to the entrenched work, may also be assigned to these graves—the resting places, probably, of those who formed or occupied the work.

After enjoying the magnificent prospect for some time, the visitors moved downwards in two divisions; one to examine Llanmadoc church, the other to inspect a cistvaen, lying to the west, but which was after a time found to be too distant; so the attempt was given up.

After some delay, an entrance was effected into Llanmadoc church, which has a very rude semicircular chancel arch, with an opening to the rood-loft. To the north side of this arch is attached a primitive square font, in what appears to have been its original position.

Some early single-light windows with deep splays remain; but the building, even including the square-headed doorway, appears to be of the early part of the thirteenth century, a date which may be assigned to the majority of the churches in Gower.

After a halt for luncheon, the business of the day was continued by an inspection of Cheriton church. Mr. Freeman made some remarks on the church, as a remarkably good example of the triple division on a very small scale. It consists of a nave without aisles, a choir with the central tower over it, and a presbytery. That this was the arrangement, is shewn by marks of the rood-loft across the western arch of the tower; but the simple ideas of the builders are shewn in the fact that the loft was approached by an open staircase within the choir, instead of by a newel in a turret. Mr. Freeman then commented on the elegant tower-arches and the south door, described in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1850, pp. 50-4.

Outside the church is a rude Norman font, part of which has been broken off. On the north side of the church is the ancient parsonage, which probably dates from the reign of Edward II. It has a fine chimney, terminating in an elegant octagonal shaft.

On their return homewards, the carriages passed by Llandimor Castle, but time prevented a personal inspection. Viewed, however, from the carriages, it appears at present to consist only of remains of earthworks strongly situated on the brow of the hill commanding the estuary below.

The next and final halt for the day was made at Weobley Castle, an erection principally of the fourteenth century, on the edge of the hill overlooking a large extent of country. The northern side is the most perfect and picturesque, presenting an aggregation of towers of various forms—square, rectangular, and polygonal. The inner bailey is tolerably entire. Portions of the outer one may be traced to some extent. There were originally two entrances, one of which only remains, and which is apparently less ancient than the other parts of the structure, being devoid of those defences and appliances so necessary and usual in castles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Considerable alterations and additions have been made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, at the request of the President, prefaced some observations on the castle by a concise and rapid sketch of the rise and progress of military architecture, commencing from the simple earthworks surrounded with palisades, and surmounted first with wooden structures and subsequently by masonry, to which succeeded the more regular Norman dungeon or keep, and which, in its turn, by degrees was strengthened with stone *enceintes* and other defences, up to the grand change introduced by Edward I. Mr. Morgan explained also the very important part played by the galleries and other wooden structures previous to the introduction of cannon; the holes in which beams had been inserted to support inclined planes necessary for the bringing heavy stones to the upper portions of the buildings; and concluded by pointing out such few portions of detail which more clearly indicated the date of the structure.

Sir JOHN HARDING described what he conceived was the usual process by which such castles were taken, especially when the resources of the attackers were not very extensive, as was probably the case in those instances in which Owen Glendower had taken so many strong castles. The inmates of these works were generally, if in remote districts, few in number, and unable to resist the sudden and unexpected attacks of the Welsh, who would effect an opening very easily by the simple process of converting a trunk of a tree into an efficient battering ram.

EVENING MEETING.

Mr. HARTSHORNE, gave an account of the day's excursion, and prefaced his remarks by pointing out the hopelessness of any attempts to fix particular dates for those early earthworks, an example of which they had examined that morning. They had seen two examples of the saddleback roof, which, he understood, was the ordinary roof in Gower. There were only four instances throughout the county of Northampton. The masonry of Llanmadock was of very rude work, and probably of the latter part of the reign of Edward II; but there were difficulties in forming any judgment in cases of such unskilful work. He had noticed the peculiar position of the square font attached to the chancel arch; nor was he aware of any similar instance. The eastern arch of Cheriton tower appeared to him to have a Norman look. The parsonage house was a very interesting specimen of the fourteenth century. He fully agreed in the remarks of Mr. Octavius Morgan about the date and other points connected with the ruins of Weobley Castle, the builder of which, he believed, was not known; but much information might probably be obtained by a more extensive search among the public records. Before closing his remarks, Mr. Hartshorne gave a short summary of the early history of Gower. Among other inquiries, he mentioned three in particular touching Gower; one in the time of Edward I; another the 13th of Edward II; and another in the 20th of Edward III—all of which would probably throw much light upon the topography of the country. They would find in them information respecting Oystermouth Castle, the North Gate of Swansea, and Swansea Castle.

Mr. HENRY THOMAS regretted the absence of Sir John Harding that evening, as he could not allow to pass unnoticed that gentleman's statement, made at Weobley Castle, concerning the process by which Owen Glendower was supposed to have demolished the defences of the castles he took. He explained how many difficulties must have existed, which had been entirely ignored by Sir J. H. who, he thought, must have derived his ideas from no other source than the pages of *Ivanhoe*.

Mr. CLARK agreed generally with the remarks of the last speaker, and suggested that the favour with which Owen Glendower was regarded by the Yorkist party might well account for the rapidity of his general success, and in many cases, probably by treason in the garrisons, for the fate of so many of the South Welsh castles. He observed that many of the Glamorgan buildings, and especially of the military ones, were so devoid of ornament, and so

fragmentary, that it was extremely difficult to approximate to their age; and he suggested that more attention should be paid to the description of stone employed. The older groins, he thought, were commonly of a white honeycombed but very durable limestone, known, he believed, but was not sure, as Sutton stone; while the early rubble work and upfilling was often of boulders. Occasionally blocks of old red sandstone were used, and along the sea-coast the lias limestone. No doubt the employment of each variety of stone was in some degree governed by the locality of the building, but he did not think this was wholly so; and he thought that, by close attention to the quality of stone employed in buildings of known dates, considerable light would be thrown upon others which, by partial destruction or decay, had been deprived of the ordinary indications of style and date.

Professor BABINGTON, in the absence of Mr. Banks, read a paper by that gentleman on Brynllys Castle, in the county of Brecon.

Mr. CLARK, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Banks for his paper, called on Mr. Hartshorne to make some observations with reference to that castle.

Mr. HARTSHORNE described the building, by the aid of the plans which were exhibited, as one of those smaller strongholds, which were necessary for personal protection, rather than erected as places of defence for a large body of men. Brynllys, he said, partook of the nature of a pele-tower rather than a castle. It resembled those on the Scottish Borders in this respect, though it bore marks of being rather earlier than they were in its construction. It might have been built in the reign of Edward I; though, in the absence of any architectural details, its age must remain uncertain. The form and general arrangements, however, would lead to the conclusion that it belonged to that period. As regarded the high degree of antiquity assigned to this structure by King, it was enough simply to state that his views were in accordance with the visionary opinions that characterized all his descriptions, and were undeserving any consideration.

Mr. FREEMAN said that he should not have ventured to speak about a castle after Mr. Hartshorne, except that it so happened that he had seen the castle, and Mr. Hartshorne had not, as Brynllys Castle had been visited by the Association at the time of its meeting at Brecon (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1853, pp. 308, 314, 324). He did not, however, rise to oppose, but to confirm, from the evidence of one who had seen the castle, all that Mr. Hartshorne had said without seeing it. His chief object, however, was to remind the Association—though he doubted not that the subject had been touched upon in some of those parts of Mr. Banks' paper which Mr. Babington had been obliged to leave unread—of the wild nonsense which had been talked about this round tower at Brynllys, and the similar one at Tretower. They were round, and there seemed to be a greater facility for talking nonsense about round buildings than about buildings of any other shape; witness the round towers of Ireland. Because these two Brecknockshire towers were round, they were said to be Phœnician, ancient Irish, what not: it would be curious to know to whom the propounders of

these theories attributed the round tower at Pembroke, and the round tower at Windsor. Then, again, as all the openings in Brynlllys tower happened to be very narrow; some, or perhaps all, of them were formed, not by a constructive arch, but by two stones cut into the arched form. Every one knows how common this is over narrow openings of any date; but this common construction had actually been brought forward to show that the tower was of some incalculable antiquity. It was held that it was built by a people to whom the perfect construction of an arch was unknown, like the authors of those various imperfect attempts at arches to be seen in the so-called Pelasgian remains in Greece and Italy. How Phœnician castle-builders ever got into Brecknockshire it was not easy to understand; he remembered saying at the time, when he saw the roof of Talgarth church gathered up, as it were, into a curious pyramidal form, that there was at least more reason for supposing an Egyptian colony at Talgarth than a Phœnician colony at Brynlllys.

Mr. STEPHENS read a paper on an inscribed stone at Cefn Brithdir, Gelligaer, near Merthyr Tydfil, which, owing to its being in a somewhat inaccessible district, was little known except to the country farmers, who looked upon it as an inscrutable marvel. A sketch of the inscription had been taken by Dr. Jennings of Hengoed, in the neighbourhood, and cut on wood, and given in the *Life of Dr. Jennings*, published at Cardiff in 1859. Of this he now laid before the meeting a photographic copy, through the kindness of Mr. Robinson, the publisher. Dr. Jenkins read *TFSEMACNS KILI E AS FDANI HIC SIACIT*; but a cursory inspection would show that he had read some of the letters wrong, as in the first and second words, where the *n* and *k* should evidently be *v* and *f*. Other errors also existed; on the removal of which, he thought, there was little difficulty in arriving at the true version. In 1822, however, one William Owen of Anglesey undertook to translate it, and manufactured the following interpretation by assuming that the two first letters stood for Tydfil, and treating the others in the same manner, and inventing names hitherto unrecorded.

“Tydfil the Queen Martyr
Under Censorius Kilimax
Ascended to the abodes of peace
Her body lies here.”

Without further reference, however, to this ingenious discovery, Mr. Stephens thought that it might be laid down as an invariable rule that, in British inscriptions of this character, the words were given in full, and therefore did not admit of inventive interpretation. All that was required was to read the letters correctly, and then to ascertain what additional information could be furnished from biographical or historical notices of the persons referred to. In the present instance, he read the inscription thus, *TECERNICVS FILIVS MAR, HIC IACIT*, and from the particular forms of certain of the letters, attributed it to the seventh century. (Notices of these persons are given in the paper, which will shortly appear in the Journal of the Association.)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 30.

The General Committee met for the despatch of business of the Association.

Communications from the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the Isle of Man, and the city of Hereford, respecting the place of meeting in 1862, were laid before the meeting.

Mr. James Davis, seconded by Mr. T. O. Morgan, moved that Hereford be the place of meeting.

An amendment that Truro should be substituted for Hereford was proposed by Mr. G. T. Clark, and seconded by Sir Stephen Glynne. The amendment was carried.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Lloyd Phillips, late General Secretary, for his efficient services, was passed with acclamation.

The Rev. Garnons Williams was appointed Local Secretary, in the place of Mr. Banks, who had accepted the office of General Secretary.

It was also ordered that the Chairman of Committee, and the two Secretaries, should be appointed a Sub-Committee, to prepare lists of questions for circulation, as proposed in the report.

The Rev. Garnons Williams, and Mr. James Williams of Mount Pleasant, Brecon, were appointed auditors for the accounts of 1861.

The Rev. John Griffith, at the request of the Committee, undertook, in conjunction with Mr. Clark, to remove the stone at Gelli-gaer to a secure place.

Mr. R. D. Jenkins was also requested to consult with the Rev. H. J. Vincent as to the removal of the Sagramnus stone.

The Committee then adjourned to the *conversazioni*, held in the old hall of the castle, in which had been placed the temporary museum.

Mr. MOGGIDGE, having previously superintended the exploring of the ancient road at Landore, announced at the meeting that a considerable portion had been laid bare, and was found to be upwards of twenty feet broad, and lying three feet seven inches below the surface.

Mr. G. G. FRANCIS pointed out to the company assembled the more remarkable features of Swansea Castle, and particularly the elegant open parapet of arches, of which the episcopal palaces of Lamphey and St. David's, Pembrokeshire, are the only two other examples. Henry de Gower, Bishop of St. David's, is supposed to have been the architect. Mr. Francis believed that the open parapet had a practical use, besides an ornamental one; namely, to keep a good look out without exposing the sentinels to view. After examining the interior portions of the castle, a circuit was made outside, under Mr. Francis's guidance, of what was probably the extent of the original works; some of which near the postern were destroyed in 1774, with great difficulty, to make way for the old market. The castle ditch was then traced through Worcester Place up to the site of the north gate, now occupied by the opening into Castle Bailey Street. Another portion of the ditch was found in digging the foundations of the Wesleyan chapel. Mr. Francis then led the way to St. Mary's church, pointing out the site of the old manor house (a plan of which was exhibited in the museum), now occupied by the Police Station.

The principal object of attraction was the Herbert chapel, containing the monument of Sir Matthew Cradock, and the Lady Catharine his wife, whose first husband was Perkin Warbeck. Here was found the very early comb exhibited in the Local Museum. Owing to the rain penetrating the dilapidated roof, much damage has been already done to the rich ornamentation of the tomb, which, unless steps are taken to remedy the evil, will soon disappear entirely. From the chapel the company repaired to the chancel, of the Decorated style, the only original portion left; the greater part of the present edifice having been erected in the first half of the last century. On the south side is the monumental brass of Sir Hugh Johnnys and his wife, one of the best of the few brasses remaining in the principality. Engravings of it were liberally distributed by Mr. Francis to those present. A small number then followed that gentleman to inspect the remains of St. David's Hospital, the existence of which had been some time since accidentally discovered by Mr. Francis, although it was known that such a foundation had once existed. The portion that remains is a gable, having three small windows of the fourteenth century. The charter of foundation is dated 1332, and does not contain the name of a single Welsh witness.

About two o'clock, the members proceeded to Singleton, where the President had invited them to luncheon. The collection of antiquities, principally Roman and Etruscan, having been cursorily examined, an adjournment was made to the orangery, where one hundred and fifty guests partook of the hospitality provided on a princely scale.

A special train then conveyed the company to Oystermouth, where Mr. Francis, again acting as guide, conducted the visitors through the ruins of the Castle, which, about fourteen years ago, had been disencumbered of upwards of 4,000 tons of rubbish by that gentleman's exertions; during which operation many portions had been brought to light. The walls, where necessary, had been repaired, the broken stairs and ramparts made accessible, and the whole of the windows which previously had been filled with common rubble work had been cleared out. Mr. Francis spoke in warm terms of the munificence of the Duke of Beaufort, its owner, who had liberally supplied the funds for the reparation of the building. The principal feature is the square keep, having in an upper story the chapel, which still retains five large decorated windows; some of the mullions of them, however, had to be restored. The main entrance to the castle is tolerably perfect, but inconsiderable in its proportions. Near it are the reservoirs; and, over the entrance, the chamber, in which the portcullis was worked, still retains its fire-place, either for the use of the guard, or for boiling oil, water, etc., for defensive purposes. An inner but lower wall runs parallel with a portion of the outer defence; the space between which, in Mr. Francis' opinion, was covered with a sloping roof, and divided into apartments of various kinds for the use of the garrison. Other parts of the ruins were inspected, such as the kitchen, state, and other apartments, the uses of which were not easily determined, and more particularly that part which Mr. Francis thought served as a commu-

nication with the postern by means of machinery, in the application of which the pillars, that seemed to support two vaulted chambers one over the other, might have been brought into use.

The little time remaining before the return of the train, permitted only a hasty examination of Oystermouth church, which, although lately restored, retains some small portions of the thirteenth century. The font may be late Norman. The most remarkable thing in the church is the curious Norman pillar-piscina, described some time ago, and placed in its present position, by Mr. Francis.

EVENING MEETING.

The President commenced the proceedings of the evening by laying before the meeting the following resolutions, recommended by the General Committee.

1. That William Lawrence Banks, Esq., F.S.A., be appointed General Secretary, in the place of Frederick Lloyd Phillips, Esq., who has resigned his office.

2. That the officers of the Association be re-elected.

3. That the meeting of the Association for 1862 be held at Truro, in conjunction with the meeting of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

The resolutions having been unanimously passed—

Mr. FREEMAN, at the request of the President, gave an account of some of the objects seen during the day, and spoke of the well known parapet of Swansea Castle as identical, except in the presence of a somewhat smaller degree of ornament, with that in St. David's Palace. Both of these are undoubted works of Bishop Henry Gower. With these the parapet of Lamphey Palace is commonly classed as a third, and its claims were fully discussed at the Tenby meeting of the Association (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 321-4, 1852, p. 199, 1853, p. 190). Mr. Freeman thought that there could be little doubt that the Lamphey parapet was either something earlier, on which De Gower improved, or else something later, built in bungling imitation of his work. It is very rude, and has few of the characteristics of Gower's style. Mr. Freeman then went on to speak of the series of buildings scattered over the diocese of St. David's, partly, as he believed, the work of Gower himself, partly of a school of masons which his great works had formed (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1852, pp. 164, 183-5; *History of St. David's*, p. 203-7). Besides Swansea Castle, the Association had also had the advantage of Mr. Francis' guidance to the small remains of the Hospital of St. David, which they had also had to thank Mr. Francis for first bringing to light. Only one gable remains; the windows show that it was a building of two stories, therefore probably one of that class of hospitals where the chapel opened into two stories, as at Wigton's Hospital, Leicester. Now, this hospital was founded by Bishop Gower in 1332, as Mr. Foster proved by reading the original Deed of Foundation to the members on the spot; the building, herefore, would not be earlier than that date, and it might be some years later. But one of the windows is a genuine South-Welsh trefoil lancet, showing that this form, like so many other early features, was continued to a com-

paratively late date (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 52, 1851, p. 101, 1853, p. 174). With regard to Oystermouth Castle, it was a building of a very different description from those he had alluded to; and they had already heard from Mr. Francis all that could be said upon that structure. He must, however, remind the members that it was to the exertions of that gentleman they were indebted for the pleasure they had enjoyed in examining these ruins, which were before almost inaccessible; and he hoped that he would continue the like exertions on behalf of Neath Abbey. The church at Oystermouth had lost much by recent alterations, which he understood had been rendered necessary by the requirements of the parish. The objects which would chiefly interest were the lancet windows, the font, the Roman tesserae, and the curious pillar-piscina.

Mr. HARTSHORNE was not prepared to support Mr. Francis' theory with regard to one of the rooms they had seen in Oystermouth Castle being used as a washing-room; he could only say that if Mr. Francis was right, he must give the ancient people of Gower credit for more cleanliness than he had heard of elsewhere. With regard to the date of the castle, he did not think there was any portion later than the period of Edward II, and he was inclined to believe that the actual date was some twenty years earlier, say about the year 1284, or the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward I, and a MS. extant of the sixteenth year of that monarch confirmed that opinion by referring to the castle as then in existence. He could not sit down without presenting his acknowledgments to Mr. Francis for having rescued such a magnificent structure from demolition; it was rare to find an ancient Castle so successfully treated, and he cordially seconded Mr. Freeman's suggestion as to the Neath Abbey being placed in Mr. Francis's hands.

Mr. CLARK thought that the arcade below the battlement of Swansea Castle was merely ornamental, and not intended for defensive purposes, as suggested by Mr. Francis, but it would be presumptuous to form a decided opinion without ascending to the parapet which he had been unable to do. As to Oystermouth Castle it was so complicated and full of domestic details and successive additions that he confessed himself unable, after so brief a visit, to satisfy himself as to the age or use of many parts. At first glance, the keep struck him as almost late Norman, from its proportions and general appearance, like that of Fonmon; this opinion, however, was inconsistent with much of the details. The buttresses did not appear to be so early. The situation it occupied was exactly that which a Norman architect would have chosen. At Morlais Castle was an oven measuring twelve feet across, and similar to the one they had seen to-day. It was with great hesitation that he differed from a local authority, who was so well acquainted with the building, but he could not agree as to the manner in which the postern was said to have been worked by machinery.

Mr. FRANCIS said he only advanced his theories in order that better ones might be set up. He was obliged to those gentlemen for the notice they had been pleased to take of his labours, and he could assure them that his highest enjoyment was to find that they had given pleasure to others as well as to himself.

Dr. WILLIAMS then made some remarks on the ethnology of Gower. Most of them well knew the tradition that the original inhabitants of Gower travelled over from Flanders by sea and settled in the south-west portion of Glamorganshire and the neighbourhood of Tenby. Such was the generally received story of their origin. Feeling interested in the question, he requested Dr. Latham, the celebrated lexicographer, when on a visit to Swansea, to take a tour through Gower; and that gentleman after paying due attention to the language of the inhabitants, came to the conclusion that neither in the names of their rivers, churches, mountains, nor in any articles, did their words in any way shew that their origin was derived from Flanders; that neither their idioms nor nouns substantive, bore any analogy to the language spoken in Belgium, nor did anything that he saw or heard give him any reason to suppose that the original settlers had passed across the Channel from the Continent. He himself had often been in conversation with the inhabitants of this peninsula, and he had been surprised at the confidence with which many persons had contended for their Flemish origin. He regretted exceedingly that time had not enabled him to lay down the ground on which his arguments were based, but he thought he should be able to place before them facts which would convince them that he had good reason to consider that the Saxon language was the ground-work of the present language of Gower. If they looked at the geography of the peninsula, they would find that the line of coast was parallel with the west coast of England, and that that parallel extended to that part of Pembrokeshire where the English language was also spoken, and he was in a condition to prove that the language spoken in Southern Pembroke and Gower was of the same origin as the language spoken by the inhabitants on the other side of the Bristol Channel. The occupation of both sides of the Channel by one and the same people was not at all an improbable hypothesis, and if he went into details he should be able to strengthen the conviction by pointing out that the same words for the names of mountains, castles, trees, and so forth, differed only in a slight degree from the same names in Somersetshire and Devonshire; and although the idioms differed, the true philology was the same. He therefore surmised that the ancient settlers acted on migratory principles, or were driven to this coast by a stormy wind; and he contended that it was utterly contrary to the laws of ethnology that the language spoken in Gower had anything in common with the Flemish tongue.

Mr. J. JENKINS observed that it was indeed a remarkable fact that the people of Gower had preserved the English language for the last four or five hundred years, hemmed in as they were from any communication with those who spoke the same language. Supposing for an instant that the Flemish theory was the correct solution to that interesting phenomenon, he could not see how the fact of the English language still prevailing could be accounted for, without some continually existing cause for keeping it up. They should remember that the very small population of Gower was surrounded by a large population speaking the Welsh tongue, and if the Gower language was really derived from Flanders, he should have thought that in the nature of things it would either have been totally lost, or have pre-

sented traces of intermixture with the Welsh language,—traces which he believed were not to be found, for it was a fact that the English dialect, spoken in Gower, was as pure as the Lancashire or any other dialect spoken in England. He treated as altogether absurd the tradition that a colony of Flemings had been sent during the Norman dynasty for the purpose of keeping the Welsh in check; but he also, to some extent, differed from those who sided with the view that they were descended from the Norman retainers, because in the present language of Gower they had no evidence of either Norman or Flemish origin. He contended that the language was in all its broad outlines the same as that spoken at the present time in Somersetshire. After pointing out the peculiarity of the geographical position of Gower, Mr. Jenkins went on to contend that from time immemorial there had been a constant traffic carried on between the people on the opposite side of the channel and the Gower and Pembroke coast for the lime found on this latter coast; and that when families settled there, the Somersetshire people found it to their interest to carry the rich products of their farms across to the newly founded colony. He had made a glossary of about one hundred and fifty Gower words, and had compared them with the Somersetshire dialect, and found they were very similar, in some cases exactly the same. The word 'delve' was constantly used for 'dig;' the peculiar substitution of the nominative for the subjective case, as 'told we' for 'told us,' was always used by a Gower man; the still more remarkable use of the 'v' for the 's,' the 'f' for the 'v,' and 'hold'un' instead of 'hold it, or him,' were only a few of the similarities with the dialect used in Somersetshire. He therefore contended that the Gower language neither originated with the Fleming nor Norman, but was an offshoot from the opposite coast of Somersetshire.

Mr. FREEMAN replied; "Sir, it is too late to continue the present discussion to any great length; but I do not think we can allow our good friends the Flemings to be turned out of Gower without some stronger arguments than have been brought by the gentlemen on the other side. I will not speak dogmatically on the point; I do not know that there is any distinct historical evidence; and it is one of those matters which there is only one man in the kingdom really fitted to decide. I need not do more than name Dr. Guest."

Mr. FRANCIS. "It may save trouble to say that I asked Dr. Guest about the people in Gower; and he said it was all *bosh* about the Flemings, so far as a hasty visit enabled him to judge."

Mr. FREEMAN. "On Dr. Guest's authority, I am quite ready to believe that the people of Gower are not Flemish; but that leaves the arguments of Dr. Williams and Mr. Jenkins exactly where they were. Their arguments turned entirely on the identity of the population of Gower and South Pembrokeshire; on their theory, the two stand or fall together. But, if Dr. Guest is right in denying the Flemish language in Gower, the cases of Gower and Pembrokeshire are at once separated. For the Flemish settlement in Pembrokeshire is a historical fact, resting on evidence which even Dr. Guest's authority could not upset. Roger of Hoveden—he is the only author whom I

can quote at the moment, but I know he does not stand alone*—distinctly refers to the settlement of the Flemings in *terra quæ nominatur Rhôs*; that is, beyond all doubt, the modern hundreds of Ros and Castlemartin in Pembrokeshire. The speakers on the other side have treated a Flemish occupation as something ridiculous; as if the Flemings were thought to have crossed the sea, no one knows how, and to have turned up in some unaccountable fashion on the coast of South Wales. Nothing of the kind; a Flemish colony settled in England, having left their own country because of an inundation; King Henry I planted them first in the North of England, and afterwards removed them into the land of Rhôs. Nothing can be more definite, intelligible, and straightforward than the whole history of the Flemish settlement in Pembrokeshire. But I know of no such distinct authority for the Flemish settlement in Gower; that rests entirely on tradition, and on the analogy of Pembrokeshire; and therefore, on Dr. Guest's authority, I am quite ready to give it up. Dr. Williams and Mr. Jenkins tell us, that the Teutonic inhabitants of Gower and Pembrokeshire are simply Englishmen, of the same stock as the West Saxons of Somersetshire and Devon. Their remarks seemed almost to imply that they supposed that Gower and Rhôs were settled by the same immigration which settled Somersetshire and Devon. Now, the first English occupation of any part of Somersetshire was by Ceawlin, after the battle of Deorham in 577. It is an occupation which specially concerns me, as the limits of Ceawlin's conquest exactly coincide in one part with the limits of my own property, so that I live in the West Wales of 577. Do the gentlemen on the other side of the room believe that Ceawlin or his followers occupied Gower and Rhôs in 577? Do they, without going so far as that, believe that Gower and Rhôs were Teutonized by Ina, or any other of the West Saxon kings who helped to spread the English name and language westwards? If so, they are carrying the Teutonic settlements in South Wales back to a far earlier date than anybody ever thought of before, and are putting the question on a wholly new ground. And what are the arguments by which the Teutonic inhabitants—be they Flemings or be they English—are specially connected with Somersetshire? They speak, we are told, the same dialect of English. I cannot say that they do not; but the arguments of the speakers on the other side certainly do not prove that they do. Those gentlemen seem to me to have fallen into the common error of compilers of local grammars and glossaries, that of setting down as peculiarities of their own district whatever differs from common literary English. Constantly in such works we see words and forms put down as localisms of this or that county, which are sometimes merely archaisms, sometimes forms common to that county with many others. We are told that the Gower people say "delve" instead of "dig". Why should they not? All England did so a few centuries back—

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

The Gower people and the Somersetshire people are said to agree in

* See Arch. Camb. 1850, p. 138, 1851, p. 315-9.

a few contractions and corruptions of the personal pronouns. They say "he" for "him"; so they do in Gloucestershire, and I dare say in other counties besides. They say "a" for "I" or for "he". Now, what was the last thing Falstaff did? Why "A babbled of green fields"; and yet neither Shakespeare nor Dame Quickley were born either in Gower or in Somersetshire. The English of Gower and the English of Somersetshire may be specially akin; but the examples cited by Dr. Williams and Mr. Jenkins certainly prove nothing. We are asked, again, how the Flemings dropped their own language and adopted English? I answer, that they never did drop it. Flemish and English are even now closely allied languages; both are dialects of the same Low Dutch tongue; whole sentences of one are even now intelligible with very little effort to those who understand the other; Flemish, in short, is very much what English would have been, had no Norman Conquest brought an infusion of French or Latin into English. If Flemish and English are even now so closely akin, what were they in the twelfth century? What were they in the sixth, if we are to go back so far for the Teutonic settlement of Gower? I myself see no difficulty whatever in accepting the common tradition as to the inhabitants of Gower; while the Flemish occupation of Rhôs is a certain historical fact. If, therefore, I at all surrender the Flemish origin of the people of Gower, it is not that I am in the least convinced by the arguments of the gentlemen on the other side, but solely out of deference to the authority of Dr. Guest."

Mr. STEPHENS said he had listened with attention to the remarks of Dr. Williams, and that he could not help feeling surprised, when he found that in the whole of his address there was not a single fact mentioned, nor any attempt made to substantiate the assertions of the speaker, by proofs of any kind. The address was simply a series of unsupported assertions. The second address contrasted advantageously with it in this respect. Mr. Jenkins urged several facts in support of the same suggestion, though it might fairly be doubted whether more than one of those facts was strictly relevant to inquiry. He was surprised at the manner in which Dr. Williams referred to the Flemings, when he ignored all the well-known historic statements on the subject of their settlement on the opposite coast of Pembroke, and treated the assertion of their connection with the district as a mere vague tradition, that a ship from Flanders had strayed from its course and been stranded on the coast of Gower. It seemed to be admitted on both sides, that the English-speaking people of Gower, and English-speaking people of Pembroke, had many points of resemblance to each other, which at the same time distinguished them in each district from the adjoining population. They were strikingly alike in personal appearance; they resembled each other in the peculiarities of their speech; in the decoration of their houses; in their dress, the red whittles, etc., being characteristic of each. The problem submitted for solution was therefore exactly the same in both cases; and it might be assumed, that whatever would be a proof in the one case would equally apply in the other. He held that in both cases, the people were originally Flemings. With regard to Pembrokeshire, this admitted of most con-

clusive proof; for there was no fact in history better authenticated, than the establishment of a colony of Flemings in the Southern and Western parts of Pembrokeshire. Mr. Stephens added—"The first settlement is said to have been effected in the early part of the twelfth century; and in a Welsh chronicle, MS. B. of Brut y Tywysogion, considered to have been written at the end of the thirteenth century, the fact is duly recorded." Mr. Stephens then read a statement from the folio edition of Powell's History of Wales, to the effect that in the year 1106 A.D., owing to an inundation in Flanders, large numbers of Flemings came to England; that Henry I sent them to Pembrokeshire; and that under the protection of the Norman lords already in possession of parts of that country they there effected a settlement. Mr. Stephens then went on to say, "This statement is supported by several contemporaneous monkish chroniclers, such as William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester and others. The former of these relates the event in these terms, under the year 1106:—

"The Welsh, perpetually rebelling, were subjugated by the king in repeated expeditions, who, relying on a prudent expedient to quell their tumults, transported hither all the Flemings then resident in England. For that country contained such numbers of these people, who, in the time of his father, had come over, from national relationship to his mother, that, from their numbers they appeared burdensome to the kingdom. In consequence he settled them, with all their property and connections, at Ross, a Welsh province, as in a common receptacle, both for the purpose of cleansing the kingdom, and repressing the brutal temerity of the enemy.'*

"Ross is of course, Ros in Pembrokeshire; and as William died in 1143, he was in a position to know the actual facts. Again, King Stephen brought over large numbers of Flemish soldiers. These in 1155, were dispersed by Henry II; and the Welsh chronicles state that these also were sent to Pembrokeshire. Giraldus Cambrensis, a native of that country, and therefore well able to know the actual facts, writing in 1188, not only speaks of a Flemish settlement there, but affirms them to have been remarkable for their skill and industry. Again, the Welsh chronicles literally abound with references to the Flemings of Pembroke. Notices of this kind will be found, both in original Welsh MSS., and in the English History of Powell, as well as in Williams' (qy. Owen's) recent edition of Brut y Tywysogion, under the years, 1105, 1107,† 1112, 1113 (twice), 1135, 1145, 1158, 1165, 1187, 1194, 1216, 1220, &c. It must therefore be perfectly clear, that there is an overwhelming amount of evidence proving the settlement of a colony of Flemings in Pembrokeshire. This point being established, it becomes a very easy matter to account for the occurrence of Flemings in Gower. If the views of Mr. Jenkins and Dr. Williams be correct, viz., that the English of Gower came from Somersetshire, they ought to be found on the southern side, or that next to Somerset and Devon; but the fact seems quite the contrary, especially in considering the names of the people. The greater part of the names, on the south side

* Bohn's English edition, p. 436.

† William de Brabant, a Flemish bishop, came over to visit his countrymen in 1107, and was slain in so doing.

are Welsh, being Bevans, Beynons, Lewis, Griffiths, Thomas, Eynons, &c. On the contrary, the English parts of Gower are the northern, namely those nearest to Pembroke. They might easily have crossed over from Pembroke to Gower. If they did, we should naturally look for them on the northern and north-western side; and there, in fact, we find them. Nor are we left to depend upon conjecture alone in support of this opinion. It is stated in the Welsh chronicles relating to the year 1135, that in a hard fought battle at Aberdyfi, the Flemings and Normans were defeated with immense loss by the sons of Griffith ab Kynan and Griffith ab Rhys. Numbers of them were slain, many were drowned, many were trodden to death, and large numbers fled away. Many of them, it is said in a chronicle called the chronicle of Caradoc, properly the Book of Aberpergwm, attempted to escape to England; but they were met in the Vale of Neath; three thousand of them were slain; and the remnant driven back, took refuge in Gower, under the protection of the castles of Henry Beaumont."

Coming next to the philological argument of Mr. Jenkins, the speaker said that most of the words cited in proof were not peculiar to Somersetshire, but prevailed throughout all England. The only seeming case in point was the use of *z* instead of *s* or *c* in such words as *Cider*; but this was not quite conclusive; as the Flemings were generally hired soldiers; and doubtless many of them might have been retainers in Somersetshire, as well as elsewhere. Indeed, the fact itself had been disputed, that the *z* was thus used in Gower; but admitting this, might it not be a Flemish characteristic? The following had been reported as a bit of genuine Pembrokeshire English:—

"I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day zoonday."

But was not this a genuine trace of Flemish? The broad sound of the vowels was certainly common in Pembrokeshire. It was very visible even on the map of the Netherlands, Holland, &c. We had the broad vowel and the *z* in Bergen op Zoom, Voorn, Hoorn, Haarlem; the *z* in Zutphen, Zwolle, &c.; and most persons had heard the prayer of Mynheer Van Dunck,—

"O that a Dutchman's draught should be
Deep as the rolling Zuyder Zee."

For these reasons, notwithstanding the authority of Dr. Williams and even of Dr. Guest, Mr. Stephens was still of opinion that the English speaking people of Pembroke and Gower were originally Flemish.

Mr. MOGGRIDGE, acquiescing in the views of Mr. Freeman and Mr. Stephens, was unable to understand how the direct testimony of undoubted history could be set aside as regards the Flemish occupation of Pembrokeshire, at least. As respected Gower, he could from his own experience bring forward a remarkable confirmation that the inhabitants of that district also were of the same stock. During the late Russian war, he was engaged swearing-in recruits, when a man—a perfect specimen of the true Gower type—presented himself, and stated he was an Irishman. Owing to his exact resemblance to the inhabitants of Gower, he disbelieved him, and thought he had some

private object in concealing the truth. He took, therefore, an opportunity of questioning him privately; and, on his (Mr. Moggridge) stating he was sure he had no Irish blood, the man immediately said, "I never said I had Irish blood, though my family and people have been settled in Ireland ever so many hundred years; but we are Flemings." And, on inquiry, he found that there was such a colony established in the southern part of the county of Cork.

The President expressed his regret that, owing to the lateness of the hour, Mr. T. O. Morgan was prevented from reading a paper on Brittany.

The customary votes of thanks having been passed amid general acclamation, the President announced the termination of the last evening meeting, and the final excursion of the morrow.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31.

THE EXCURSION.

The excursionists started at the usual time, still favoured by the same brilliant weather, and made their first halt at Pennard church, presenting no features of interest. One quaint epitaph was noticed, which ran thus—

"Whom God consorts with sacred right and love,
Death cannot separate marrow from the dove"—

where "marrow" is used in the sense of mate or companion, as in the north of England.*

On leaving this church, the visitors proceeded to Penmaen Burrows, to examine a ruined church lately discovered. It was stated by Mr. Moggridge that, although there was a tradition of such a church being buried in the sand, its exact position was unknown until the present vicar, the Rev. E. K. James, by accident found a fragment of old painted glass lying on the surface. Permission having been obtained, two labourers, under the superintendence of the vicar, were set to work by himself and Mr. Robert Eaton; and, after some trouble, the edifice was laid bare. Over the solid stone altar had been a single-light window, while in the north wall of the chancel and near the east end was a similar one. There was also a double-light on the opposite side, in the window-seat of which was found a rude but well preserved piscina. In the south end of the altar was a small square aperture perhaps used as an ambrey; near which on the floor lay a curious thurible of bronze, at least of the thirteenth century, and probably of the twelfth. It had evidently undergone repairs, and still retained a portion of ashes, while the interior of the cover was blackened by smoke. This with some other small articles were placed in the local museum. A recess in the north wall of the chancel, did not appear to have been intended for monumental purposes; nor,

* As the Flemings were on more than one occasion brought down into South Wales from the North of England, did they bring this term with them, and is it still understood by the common people in Gower? E. L. B.

even had so small a church been provided with sedilia, would they have been probably placed on that side. A rude pavement was in front of the altar, the rest of the space being nearly occupied by four graves, three containing single skeletons lying with their heads to the west, and the fourth, of larger dimensions, containing the remains of six persons, who must have been buried without any arrangement of disposition, unless the grave had been subsequently disturbed. All these interments were close beneath the surface. A rude, and evidently later wall, had been built across the chancel, blocking up the only access into it; from which circumstance, Mr. Moggridge suggested that, in consequence of some pestilence, these persons had been hastily buried, and the chancel walled off, leaving the nave only for services.

Not far from the church is an earthwork of the class usually called Danish. It has been one of considerable strength, and has contained various buildings, the traces of which exist, but of which no satisfactory account was given. Mr. Moggridge kindly presented to the members a plan of this work drawn by himself.

From this point the more active, under the guidance of Mr. Moggridge, walked across the bay to Oxwich church; the rest of the company making a circuit with the carriages.

The more remarkable objects inspected were the Norman font and monument in the north wall of the chancel, in good preservation, but unmercifully whitewashed. It was not stated for certain whose monument it was. The tower is not square, but oblong, with the usual Gower slits. There are no traces of vaulting in the interior of it.

Oxwich castle was next inspected, the following notice of which is given in the "*Antiquities of Gower*" (*Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 61.)

"Turning to the domestic remains of the Peninsula, we shall find a valuable connecting link between them and its military edifices supplied by the castle at Oxwich. Here we have a manifest case of transition between the old type of fortress, only accidentally domestic, and the fortified mansion, Thornbury, for instance, only accidentally military. The result at Oxwich is certainly not satisfactory, the appearance being that of a large perpendicular mansion carried along at the complete elevation of a castle tower. There are a multitude of small square-headed windows of two lights, and chiefly in the more exposed front, of broad single-light windows, with depressed heads—a most untoward form, but which is probably owing to a retention of castellated ideas. In the upper range is a row of very large perpendicular windows, showing that the hall and other principal apartments must have been placed in this elevated and airy position. A great part of the castle is converted into a farm house, which contains some very good bits of domestic work, of which it is not always easy to say whether they are parts of the original building, or have been added at a subsequent, though not very distant, period."

The carriages, soon after leaving Oxwich castle, arrived at that of Penrice, the seat of C. R. M. Talbot, Esq., M.P.

After luncheon, the castle, a building principally of the thirteenth century, was inspected. The most interesting portions are the dovecot, the great gateway with its defence, and the strong towers lying

to the south of the gateway, and with which it had been originally connected by a curtain, now dismantled. The stonework, however, having been removed, it was not easy to arrive at any decided opinion as to the oldest portion. Some present thought parts might be as old even as the twelfth century.

The last object visited was Arthur's Stone, on Cefn Bryn, one of the so-called Druidic monuments; but being merely the remains of one, if not more, large sepulchral stone chambers. A considerable number of the stones which had at one time covered this monument still remain lying around it, interspersed with larger masses, formerly constituting parts of the chamber or chambers. One peculiar feature observable is the enormous size of the present remaining capstone as compared with the small and insignificant supporters, which also served to divide the internal chambers. Water exists beneath, which is generally supposed to be a spring, but which was stated to be merely the result of surface draining. The whole of the uncultivated ground on which this monument stands abounds with traces of habitations and sepulture. The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the existence of a long avenue of graves, running north and south, and apparently (as far as could be ascertained from a hasty inspection during the short time spent on the ground) terminating with Arthur's Stone, which is just outside the avenue.

Mr. STEPHENS being called upon to make some remarks, stated that there could be no doubt that though the stone on which he stood was evidently a monument of the cromlech kind (a term which strictly meant the inclined stone that covers such monuments, but which was generally applied to the whole structure), yet opinions varied as to the use and intention of such monuments. Some considered them as Druidic altars of sacrifice; some, as the bards of the sixteenth century, and a few of their modern followers, held them to have been pulpits of sun-worship; but the majority of antiquaries were now, he believed, generally agreed that they were simply sepulchral chambers. "They are, moreover," he observed, "of such antiquity, that neither history nor tradition assists in enabling any date to be assigned to them. The name of Arthur is attached to this particular stone, as it is also in many parts of Wales and Scotland, as well as in Cornwall and elsewhere, to similar remains—a circumstance which sufficiently indicates their great antiquity. Of course, however, there exists a local legend, which resembles that told of Idris in Merioneth, and probably of most giants; namely, that Arthur, one day at Llanelly, being annoyed by a small pebble in his shoe, took it out and flung it on Cefn Bryn, and hence its name. It was, however, known at a period earlier than this legend, as Maen Ketti, the stone of Ketti, a name probably of Gaelic origin, and which may be compared with Drum Keat in Ireland, called *Dorsum Ceti* by Adamnan. It is probably a trace of the early Gaelic settlement in Gower, Kidwelly, and West Wales. Ketti appears to have been the name of a saint, from whom Sketty has been so termed; while it occurs also on the opposite coast of Pembroke in Cil-getti, or the church of Ketti. This saint may have been the patron saint of Gower, or this part of it; but the stone must have been there long before his time, *i. e.*, about the middle of the sixth

century. It may be a question worth consideration, whether the stone was raised and placed on its present supports, or found in its present position, and the earth scooped out underneath, props being inserted; and, if the first alternative were adopted, by what means it was effected. The framers of the Triads took this view of it, and hence it became a proverbial expression that any very ponderous mass was *Mal llwyth maen Ketti*—"like the load of Ketty's stone." The Triads further refer to it as one of the three mighty achievements of the Isle of Britain, the other two being the erection of Gwaith Emrys or Stonehenge, and the heaping of the Pile of Cyvrangon, supposed to be Silbury Hill. A large piece of one side of the stone had been detached, as if split off from it, and there existed a pool of water under it. Both these circumstances formed the subject of a legend, which is found in the *Iolo MSS.*, and is to this effect, that Maen Ketti on Cefn-y-Bryn in Gower was worshipped by the pagans; but Saint David split it with a sword, in proof that it possessed no divine attributes; and commanded a well to spring under it, which flowed accordingly. This miracle led to the conversion of the pagans."

Mr. BARNWELL said if there could have existed any doubt as to whether Arthur's Stone could have been a Druidical altar, the mass of small stones lying all around, and which had once covered up the monument, would have been a sufficient answer. Who first invented the altar theory he did not know, for there was not an atom of historic evidence on the point, nor could he conceive any stones less adapted for sacrificial rites than the ordinary cromlech, or rather, its covering stone, which invariably presented exteriorly its rougher and more inconvenient side, turning inwards the smoother one, which could perhaps have served as an altar table. Besides which, he believed that all such structures, without exception, had, at some early period, been covered with earth or stones. There might be Druidic altars, but they were certainly not to be manufactured out of cromlechs. There could be no question, therefore, as to what Arthur's Stone was. It was simply the remaining portion of a large structure, containing several small chambers covered with enormous slabs, one of which, and the largest, was only left in the position where it had been placed. It had, moreover, formed a portion, or been in some way connected with the very remarkable avenue of graves running south, and which might be found to extend north also. In other countries where these long avenues existed, these large sepulchral chambers were usually found close to them, but not touching them, as was the case with this one in particular, and which was probably the grave of the more distinguished chiefs and their families. There was also one other point in which the monument corresponded with so many others of the same class, namely, its elevated position near the sea-coast.

Mr. FREEMAN said that there was no sort of contradiction between what Mr. Stephens had said, and what Mr. Barnwell had said. He did not know the exact date of the Triads; but he had always been taught to believe that they were something very ancient. Now it was clear that the authors of those Triads knew no more about the origin,

the authors, or the use of this Arthur's Stone than he did. It was to them, as to us, something utterly mysterious, of which they could give no intelligible account, and about which they were driven to insert all kinds of legends. The very way in which they speak of it, the wonder expressed at the raising of the stone, shows that it was already a ruin; had it preserved its original form of a tump or cairn, no one would have seen or observed anything about the stone. The very language then of these old Cymrian bards tended to strengthen the belief of the most scientific observers, that these wonderful old graves were not only far older than the coming of Normans, Flemish, or Englishmen, but that they were præ-Cymrian and præ-Gaelic, the only relics of a yet earlier race which, in these islands, has utterly passed away.

Mr. STEPHENS was extremely sorry to weaken Mr. Freeman's argument by stating that he did not believe the particular Triads in question to be older than the sixteenth century.

Mr. FREEMAN recommended Mr. Stephens to be cautious in what he stated regarding the age of those authorities; for he thought there were some people, who would have no objection to crush him with the smaller stones lying around for holding such a doctrine.

Mr. FRANCIS said that many years ago he had read a paper on this relic of the past, and that he was then (as now) of opinion that it was an ancient grave, which had been uncovered and its contents rifled. He had proved the fallacy about the spring underneath, for he had had no difficulty in clearing the water out in a short time.

Mr. HARTSHORNE said that thirty years ago he had published his views on the Cromlech question, to which he had given some attention; and they were the same as those now almost universally acknowledged by the antiquaries of Europe to be the true ones, viz., that they were simply sepulchres.

A discussion, which was terminated by Mr. Clark, then arose as to the means employed for raising these masses. He spoke from his own experience in India as to the manner in which enormous blocks were placed in elevated positions without the use of mechanical appliances. The operation he described to be simply one of making easy inclined planes of soil up to the edge of the structure, along which the masses were dragged by main force. There was no doubt the builders of these Cromlechs adopted the same plan, and afterwards used the soil to form the covering tumulus.

In the evening a General Committee was held, when the following resolutions were passed:—

First that the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the late President, C. Griffith Wynne, Esq., M.P., for his services to the Society.

Secondly that M. Henri Martin be elected an Honorary member of the Association.

The Meeting then broke up; and the next General Annual Meeting will be held at Truro on, as at present arranged, Monday, August 25th, 1862.

CATALOGUE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM
IN THE ANCIENT HALL OF SWANSEA CASTLE, DURING
THE MEETING AT SWANSEA IN 1861.

PRIMÆVAL.

A curious and interesting collection of stone implements, hatchets, heads of spears, and arrows, from the Great Bone Cave, Paviland in Gower.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Paalstab from the neighbourhood of Kenmare.

Five celts (bronze) found near Birmingham.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

Bronze ornament from Pont Audemer, Normandy.

T. Couper, Esq.

Two other ornaments [bronze].

Mr. R. Ready.

A collection of bronze implements, swords, spear heads, etc., found in Pembrokeshire, all more or less bent and broken when found.

Dr. Jones (Glancych).

Bronze celt;

Bronze armilla; both from Pont Mousson, near Metz.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

ROMAN, EGYPTIAN, ETC.

Terra cotta models from mummies.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Fragments of tessellated pavement;

Terra cotta from Etruscan tombs;

Lamps;

Fibulæ;

Stampilia.

H. H. Vivian, Esq., F.G.S.

Roman glass;

Tile from a bath;

Cover of vase;

Portions of two querns; all from Leucarum (Loughor);

Etruscan vase from Pompeii.

G. G. Francis, Esq.

- Lachrymatory from Athens ;
 Tessellated pavement from Carthage ;
 Brick, and specimen of mortar from Bannium, near Brecon ;
 Portion of vase (Roman) from ditto ditto
 Royal Institution, Swansea.
 Wooden spade, supposed to be Roman, found 1858, in the workings
 of Duren Mine, near Aberystwyth.
 T. O. Morgan, Esq.
 Two bronze tablets, stated to be from Herculaneum.
 Mr. Francis Jeffrey.
 Coins and fragments of Roman glass ;
 Bronze ornaments ; all from Cirencester.
 Dr. Alexander Williams.
 Tessellated pavement from Oystermouth church, 1860.
 Rev. Samuel Davies.
 Bone pin from Culver Hole.
 Rev. John Davies.
 Portion of Roman vase from Lanmadock.
 Rev. J. D. Davies.
 Plaster casts of stones found on the Via Julia, between Bovium and
 Nidum, inscribed to Gordian, Diocletian, Maximin, and Victorian.
 G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.
 Model of tomb of Lucius Scipio.
 Royal Institution, Swansea.
 A fine series of photographs of ancient remains in Rome.
 Robert Eaton, Esq.

MEDIÆVAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

- Very ancient comb (supposed to be Saxon) found in St. Anne's
 Chapel, Swansea ;
 Bronze cross, *temp.* Edward III, found in Wind Street, Swansea ;
 Steel lock, probably of the fifteenth century.
 Curious lock, and
 Three spear heads, found (as well as the lock) in the oven of
 Oystermouth Castle ;
 Four apostle-spoons, silver gilt ;
 Curious steel stirrup ;
 Two cannon balls ;
 Portion of a halbert (*temp.* Eliz.) ;
 Portion of shrine in Caen stone of the fourteenth century, from
 St. Mary's Church, Swansea ;
 Curious tripod bronze vessel, with inscription of the time of John,
 found in Gower ;
 A large collection of keys, found at various times in Swansea ;
 A collection of knives with carved handles of tortoiseshell and
 ivory, dating from Elizabeth to Anne ;
 A shoemaker's rule, dated 1664, said to have belonged to the
 Court shoemaker ;
 Carved figures in ivory, of the seventeenth century ;

Panels and wood carvings from an old house in High-street, Swansea;
 Sheriff's silk banner and the seal of William Williams, Esq., of
 Duffryn, Neath, 17—;
 Models of pulpits and fonts, mediæval;
 Scotch mull and tobacco stopper, *temp.* James II;
 Busts of Inigo Jones and Picton.

G. G. Francis, Esq.

Fragment of early painted glass;
 Bronze thurible, of the thirteenth, or latter part of the twelfth century;
 Base of piscina;
 Stone muller, flat grinding stone, and red pigment;
 A wax trough;
 Early English glazed jug. All these articles were obtained from the
 disinterred church of Penmaen, 1861.

M. Moggridge, Esq., F.G.S., and
 Robert Eaton, Esq.

Pendant iron lamp and holder, fifteenth century;
 Bronzes (fifteenth century) from Padua;
 Three lamps, in bronze;
 "The Passion," in ivory and ebony, fine Italian work;
 Six latten dishes, German, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

H. H. Vivian, Esq., F.G.S.

Two pieces of oak carving from the Place House, Swansea, *temp.*
 Henry VIII;
 Cast of De Clare arms from Neath Abbey;
 Roof tile from Oystermouth Castle.

Mr. P. Rogers.

Two swords (Andrea Ferrara), sixteenth century;
 Inlaid matchlock, *temp.* James I;
 A corset, *temp.* Anne;
 Two jugs, about 1750.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

Tapestry, seventeenth century, "Jacob's Dream."

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Chasuble worked in gold and silk, mounted on crimson velvet, prob-
 ably of the sixteenth century, and now used at the Roman
 Catholic chapel, Swansea.

Rev. P. Lewis.

Twelve tablets, in a case, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, of the same
 character as those exhibited by Shipley Conwy, Esq., at the
 Rhyl meeting. They are apparently intended for some kind of
 game.

Mr. M. Viner.

Brass cooking utensil, inscribed "Pitty the pore. 1684."

Mr. Williams.

Two clay pipes, *temp.* Charles I, found in Gower.

Rev. J. Davies.

Two silver and two silver-gilt maces, dated 1615 and 1753, belonging
 to and now used in the Borough of Swansea.

The Mayor of Swansea.

Ebony cabinet, which has been built to receive embossed gold plates in fronts of drawers, of Italian workmanship of the seventeenth century.

Robert Eaton, Esq.

Tea caddy of filigree work, made in Swansea, 1760.

Mr. Evan Williams.

Basque musical instrument.

Rev. Edward Nicholl.

Specimens of ancient embossed leather from books.

Mr. H. Moore.

Impression from the brass mounts on a volume given by Margaret Tudor, Countess of Richmond, now in Christ's College, Cambridge.

Mr. R. Ready.

Leaves of a Cingalese book.

Mr. Wm. Bowen.

Models of four Irish round towers ;

Ditto of Oystermouth, Swansea, Neath, Raglan, and Blaney Castle.
Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan, R.A.

Models of Neath Abbey, Raglan Castle, the Place House, and the town of Swansea ;

Model of British coracle and paddle as now used on the rivers of Wales.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

COINS, MEDALS, ETC.

Three specimens of supposed Gaulish wheel money from Boviolles Castle, Bar le Duc. See *Arch. Camb.*, 1861.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Greek brass coins (size 7 and 8).

H. H. Vivian, Esq.

Roman brass coins from Cirencester.

Dr. Alexander Williams.

Collection of Consular and Imperial Denarii.

Mr. R. Ready.

Collection of large and middle Roman brass.

G. G. Francis, Esq.

First brass, Roman.

Mr. W. R. Davis.

Thirteen Roman brass from Caerleon.

Rev. J. D. Davies.

A collection of early English silver coins.

Rev. Secretan Jones.

Complete series of all the silver and copper Tokens issued in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries at Swansea and Neath ;

Eighty tokens issued in Wales : described in Boyne ;

Four medals of Horace Walpole.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Silver medallion of Charles I.

Mr. W. R. Davies.

Complete series of casts from the known seals of Oliver and Richard Cromwell and the Commonwealth;
One hundred and fifty seals relating to the University of Cambridge;
Forty seals relating to Bristol.

Mr. R. Ready.

A collection of seals relating to Wales, from originals in the collection of Mr. G. G. Francis.

An extensive series of seals illustrative of the royal, baronial, ecclesiastic, civic, and personal history of Wales forming for the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea, where they will be placed in glazed cabinets for public use.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

DRAWINGS, RUBBINGS, MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

An extensive collection of drawings, engravings, rubbings, etc., illustrative of Swansea, Oystermouth, Neath, and Gower;
Rubbings of monumental brasses.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Drawings of Culver Hole, Gower.

Matthew Moggridge, Esq., F.G.S.

Painting of Swansea Castle, 1820.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

Original portrait of Oliver Cromwell.

Rawleigh Mansell, Esq.

Portraits of Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark.

Mr. R. Ready.

Coat of arms from a brass in Llanover church.

Edward Byam, Esq.

The original deed of affiance between Edward II and Isabella of France, with a translation and account thereof by George Grant Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

Dr. Nicol, M.D.

A selection of original deeds from 1100, chiefly relating to Glamorganshire;

Original charters of borough of Swansea (Henry III, William De Breosa, Edward II, Edward III, two of Cromwell, and James II);

Three volumes of ancient records relating to the borough and parish of Swansea.

Corporation of Swansea.

List of sheriffs and knights of the shire for Glamorganshire, 1541-1786.

Original Proclamation of the old Pretender, dated Plombières, 1714;

Pedigree of the kings of England, richly illuminated with portraits from William I. to Elizabeth;

Collection of ancient deeds.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

Two Stradling MSS. relating to Merthyr Mawr, *temp.* Elizabeth;

Copy of early inscription on a stone at Merthyr Mawr.

J. Cole Nicholl, Esq.

Deed of 1368, and MS. letter of George III.

Mr. Ebenezer Davies.

PRINTED BOOKS.

Historia Mundi (Schedel). Wn. de Worde, 1493.

Mr. F. Jeffrey.

Gesta Romanorum, 1499;

Æsopi et Aliorum Fabulæ, s. a. fifteenth century;

Statutes at Large, Henry III to Henry VI, by Richard Pynson, s. a.;

Aristotle Ethics, s. a. fifteenth century;

Aristotle, *Topica or Politica*, 1479;

First Edition of Paradise Regained;

Various early editions of Classics, etc.

Royal Institution, Swansea.

Welsh Testament. First Edition.

J. Cole, Nicholl, Esq.

Coinage of England;

Monumental Brasses, and a number of other works on antiquities
and social history.

G. G. Francis, Esq., F.S.A.

SWANSEA MEETING, August 1861.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By receipts for tickets	19	17	0	Advertisements and Post-			
Balance of Mr. Ready's ac-				Office orders	6	17	9
count of Museum, etc.....	0	17	8	Gas fittings at Museum	3	17	11
Subscriptions towards the				Carpenter and other expenses			
Local Fund	52	10	0	of Museum	6	10	0
				Stationery, printing, postage	8	9	11
				Carriages of cases	0	6	7
				Mr. Ready, including travel-			
				ling expenses	5	10	0
				Honoraria	10	10	0
				Petty disbursements	0	12	0
				Excavation at Landore	1	15	10
				Balance	28	14	8
	£73	4	8		£73	4	8

(Signed)

J. N. SMART, acting for Treasurer.
 G. GRANT FRANCIS, local Secretary.
 C. C. BABINGTON,
 Chairman of General Committee.

LAWS OF THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION.

Of Members and their Election.

I.—The Association shall consist of Subscribing and Corresponding Members.

II.—All Members shall be admitted by the General Secretaries, on the proposal of one of the General or Local Secretaries or of any two Members, subject to the approval of the Committee at the Annual Meeting.

Of the Government of the Association.

III.—The Government of the Association shall be vested in a Committee consisting of a President, all who have held that office in previous years, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, the General and Local Secretaries, the Editorial Sub-Committee, the Chairman of the Committee, and twelve, or not more than fifteen, ordinary Subscribing Members, three of whom retire annually according to seniority.

IV.—The President shall hold office for one year, and shall be re-eligible.

V.—The election for the ensuing year of the President, Vice-Presidents, other Officers of the Association, and ordinary Members of the Committee, shall be made on any day, except the first, of the Annual Meeting, by the Subscribing Members of the Association. The Committee shall recommend Members to fill up the vacancies. Any Subscribing Member of the Association is at liberty to propose any other persons in place of those recommended by the Committee. Notice shall be given on the Programme of the Annual Meeting of the day and hour at which it is proposed that these elections shall take place.

VI.—The Chairman of the Committee shall preside at all meetings of that body in the absence of the President; shall

superintend the business of the Association during the intervals between the Annual Meetings; shall have power, with the concurrence of one of the Secretaries, to authorize proceedings not specially provided for by the Laws, if necessity for so doing shall arise : a report of his proceedings in these respects to be annually laid before the Committee for their approval, or disapproval.

VII.—The Editorial Sub-Committee shall consist of three Members, and shall superintend all the Publications of the Association, and report their proceedings annually to the Committee.

VIII.—The Committee shall be empowered to fill up *pro tem.* all occasional vacancies that may be caused by the death or resignation of the President, or of any other Member of the Committee.

IX.—In all nominations made by the Committee, it shall be allowable for any Member thereof to demand a ballot.

X.—No person who is not a Subscribing Member shall be eligible for election into any office in the Association, or be a Member of the Committee.

Of Subscriptions.

XI.—All Subscribing Members shall pay One Guinea annually to one of the General Secretaries, or to those Local Secretaries whose assistance may be specially requested by either of the General Secretaries, who shall transmit the money to the Treasurer, or his Banker.

XII.—All Subscriptions shall be paid in advance, and become due on the 1st of January in each year.

XIII.—Members wishing to withdraw from the Association are required to give six months notice to one of the General Secretaries, and to pay any Subscriptions which may be due from them to the Association.

XIV.—All the Subscribing Members shall have a right to receive, gratuitously, all the Publications of the Association which may be issued during the year to which their Subscriptions relate, together with a Ticket giving free admission to the Annual Meeting.

XV.—The Treasurer shall be required to forward, quarterly, to the Chairman of the Committee and the General Secretaries, for their guidance, a statement of finance for the past quarter of the year.

XVI.—The Accounts of the Treasurer shall be made up annually, to December 31st; and, as soon afterwards as may be convenient, audited by two Subscribing Members of the Association, to be appointed at the Annual General Meeting. A Balance-sheet of the said Accounts, certified by the Auditors, shall be printed and issued with the April Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

XVII.—All bills due from the Association shall be countersigned by one of the General Secretaries and the Chairman of the Committee, and forwarded to the Treasurer, who shall pay the same as soon as may be convenient.

XVIII.—The funds of the Association shall be deposited in a Bank, in the name of the Treasurer of the Association for the time being.

Of the Meetings.

XIX.—A Meeting of the Committee shall be held annually, for the purpose of nominating Officers, and framing Laws for the government of the Association.

XX.—The Annual Meeting shall be held in one of the principal towns of the Principality or its Marches, at which the elections, the appointments of the place of Meeting for the ensuing year, &c., shall take place. Due notice of this Meeting shall be given publicly by one of the General Secretaries.

XXI.—The Chairman of the Committee, with the concurrence of one of the Secretaries, shall have power to appoint a Special Meeting, when required; and for such Special Meeting, a notice of at least three weeks shall be given, by a circular letter addressed to each Member by one of the General Secretaries.

XXII.—At the Annual Meeting, the President, or in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the chair, and in their absence the Committee shall appoint a Chairman; and the Chairman of the Annual, or any other General Meeting, shall have an independant as well as a casting vote.

XXIII.—A Report of the proceedings for the whole year shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting.

XXIV.—At the Annual Meetings, Tickets shall be issued to Subscribing Members gratuitously; and to Corresponding Members and Strangers, admitting them to the Excursions, Exhibitions, and Meetings, at such rates as maybe fixed by the Chairman of the Committee and one of the General Secretaries, as most suitable to the circumstances of the locality in which the Meeting is to be held.

XXV.—The superintendence of the arrangements for the Annual Meeting shall be under the sole direction of one of the General Secretaries, in conjunction with the Local Secretaries of the district, and a Local Committee to be approved by him.

XXVI.—The accounts of each Annual Meeting shall be audited by the Chairman of the Committee, and the balance of receipts and expenses on each occasion be received or paid by the Treasurer of the Association.

XXVII.—Wherever it is practicable, the Local Secretaries shall cause Meetings to be held in their several districts, and shall encourage the formation of Museums.

Of the Rules.

XXVIII.—It shall be lawful for any Member to propose alterations in the Laws of the Association. Any such alteration must be notified to one of the General Secretaries at least one month previous to the Annual Meeting, and he shall lay it before the Committee. If approved of by the Committee, it shall be submitted for confirmation at the next Meeting.

XXIX.—The Committee shall be empowered to make such Bye-Laws as may from time to time appear to them expedient, subject to confirmation by the Members of the Association at the next General Meeting.

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Cambrian Archaeological Association.

1861.

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**ROYAL INSTITUTION OF
CORNWALL.**

Spring Meeting, 1861.

**An Account of an
Ancient Inscribed Stone, found at Fardel, near Ivybridge,
Devon.**

By Edward Smicke, Esq.

AN ACCOUNT OF
AN ANCIENT INSCRIBED STONE

FOUND AT FARDEL, NEAR IVYBRIDGE, IN DEVON.

By E. SMIRKE, Esq., VICE-WARDEN OF THE STANNARIES.

[After adverting to the papers read at this Meeting on the ancient caves found in this county, and apparently used as places of habitation, and on the remains of Roman occupation noticed by Mr. J. J. Rogers, of Penrose, and detected in that neighbourhood, Mr. Smirke observed that the former seemed to point to an early occupation of a rude people perhaps long antecedent to the Roman invasions of this country. The vestiges found by Mr. Rogers only confirm the opinion which Borlase had long ago enabled us to form, viz., that the Romans had fully possessed themselves of this, as well as of other parts of England, although fewer relics of their domination have been found in Cornwall than in most other counties. Mr. Smirke then proceeded to call the attention of the Meeting to the stone in question.]

Of Roman and of Saxon occupation England has numerous and indisputable evidences, both in written, contemporaneous, history, and in the vestiges left on the surface of the land. But there is an era of our history which is remarkably obscure, of which the vestiges are rare, or not easily recognized, and the written

records of little or no value. This period is included in the two or three centuries which elapsed between the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans about the year 400, or shortly after, and the settlement of the Saxons, who first appeared in force in our island about half a century afterwards, and did not occupy, or profess to exercise rule over, its western parts till the ninth century ; nor indeed had they effectually subdued Cornwall until the reign of Athelstan.

It is almost wholly from such writers as Gildas and Nennius, authors whose very names are disputed and even interchanged, and the country of whose birth is still unsettled, that our historians are forced to glean the materials for filling up these vacant places in our annals. Nor have some of them, Henry, for example, scrupled to levy contributions on the regions of romance, and the heroic figments of Ossian.

To this period, or to one not far distant from it, viz., the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries, belongs a class of monumental and other inscribed stones, for the earliest knowledge of which, we are chiefly indebted to your valuable historian Borlase, and to the late Messrs. Lysons. You will see engravings of them in the 2nd edition of Borlase's *Antiquities of the County of Cornwall*, at pages 391, 396. To these Lysons has added another in his *Cornwall*, (Introduction, page 221,) from Rialton, and three from parishes in West Devon in his *Devonshire*, (Introduction, page 309.) Another, found at Padstow, by Mr. Kent, of that place, is engraved in vol. 2 of the *Archæological Journal*, page 77. Another from St. Just, Penwith, communicated by Mr. Haslam, is engraved in vol. 4 of the last work, page 303. Two others have been found in Devonshire, one at Stowford, engraved in vol. 8, page 424, of the *Archæological Journal*, of very rude workmanship ; and another fragment at Yealmpton, differently read by Polwhele and

by Mr. Westwood, in the same volume.* All these localities are west of the river Exe; the district where the Keltic element of our population maintained its latest hold.

To this class belongs the stone selected for my observations at this Meeting. As in the others, you will observe that the Roman letters inscribed are of rude and debased form, and that the words are inscribed vertically from top to bottom, a disposition unusual in pure Roman or Saxon inscriptions, though perhaps not unparalleled.

The history of its discovery is soon told. It was first observed lying over a little brook close to Fardel farm-house, once the mansion and inheritance of the celebrated family of Raleigh. Here it had been long noticed by Mr. Pearse, of Cadleigh, near Ivybridge, who had seen only the face of it, on which the single word, or name, in Roman letters, was visible. On the removal of this, for some local repairs, the entire stone became visible, and Mr. Pearse lost no time in securing the safe deposit of it. To him we may be said to be indebted for the discovery of this venerable relic of pre-Saxon occupation, and its secure deposit in the farm-yard of Fardel; and to Captain Pode, the owner of the farm, and of the pleasant and picturesque mansion and woods of Slade, the country is indebted for its final transfer to the national collections of the British Museum.

The first attempts to obtain explanations of the inscription were not very successful, though the date and class of monuments, to which the stone belonged, were immediately recognized. In the spring of last year I received from Mrs. Praed, of Delamore, an account of

* I assume that the Stowford and Yealmpton fragments are portions of vertical inscriptions, but it is not so stated in the passages referred to.

the stone, and I must do her the justice to record the fact that her letter gave me the first clear intimation that what she called "runic" characters were also found on the slab. Her designation was substantially correct. The characters which you observe along the two margins of the stone undoubtedly belong to that class of Irish runes, commonly called, in that country, *oghams* or *ogams*. These oghams do in fact constitute the most interesting, though, unfortunately, at present the least intelligible, feature in it.

Several of these monumental stones with vertical Roman letters have been observed in the Principality of Wales, as those who consult the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* will not fail to see. (Vol. 1, pp. 182, 290, 413 ; Vol. 2, p. 25).

Again, in the northern part of this Island, inscribed stones of similar general character present themselves, and forcibly call to mind these memorials of the early occupants of the western coasts of England.

The number of such stones, found either in Wales or in North Britain, with the ogham character has, hitherto, been small. Possibly when attention has been attracted to this less conspicuous form of inscription, we may find that some have been overlooked. One of the most recently discovered stones at St. Dogmael's in Pembrokeshire, had in fact been observed and even engraved long ago, but the lateral scorings had been overlooked or mistaken for unmeaning ornamentation. On the inscribed stone near Margam, Glamorganshire, the marginal oghams were detected and described by Mr. Westwood ; and another near Crickhowel, Brecknockshire, was also brought under public notice by him. See Vol. 9, *Archæological Journal*, p. 117, and the references, *suprà*, to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, to which Mr. Westwood has largely contributed.

In Scotland a few have been lately noticed ; one at

Newton, Aberdeenshire, has a singular horizontal inscription, in letters supposed to be of Gaelic type, as yet undeciphered ; this discovery is not new, but its oghams, on the edge of the stone, have only been very lately adverted to. It is engraved in Wilson's Pre-historic Scotland, p. 506. Again, at Golspie, in Sutherland, and in the island of Bressay, Shetland, veritable ogham stones have been brought to light by recent observations. They are noticed, shortly, in Vol. 12 of the Archæological Journal, p. 275, and Vol. 13, ditto, p. 311 ; as well as in Vol. 11 of Notes and Queries, 1st series, pp. 181, 285.

The present one found at Fardel is, I believe, the sole monument in *England* in which the Irish ogham characters have been as yet detected. In Ireland stones so inscribed are abundant ; and to Irish antiquaries we must look for a more satisfactory elucidation of these mysterious markings. The Rev. Dr. C. Graves, one of the highest authorities in this department of learning, pauses in his judgment on the right reading, but clearly pronounces it to be a true ogham monument.

The basis of ogham writing is the representation of ordinary letters by mere lines or scores on each side of a common stem line :—subjoined are some forms of alphabets. Unfortunately the forms are many, and they seem capable of being varied at pleasure.

The ogham character is a cipher, or secret letter ; not a language. Such signs or ciphers have been in use in all ages and countries, and for various purposes. The modern use of them has been for concealment from all but the initiated, or those only who have the *key*. Charles I is said to have used the ogham character in his Irish correspondence. There is no difficulty in inventing a new one ; the real difficulty is in finding a key to an unknown cipher, and much ingenuity has been displayed in forging keys. It may be safely said that if the *lan-*

guage used is known to the pick-cipher, no cipher is safe against discovery. Even an English printer or type founder, who knows well the external peculiarities of English words and letters, can furnish clues to the detection of a latent English word ; but where the language is unknown, the task becomes a severe one ; yet instances are known in which the words of a language have been reproduced from cipher by a scientific detector, though the language was utterly unknown to him. The late Mr. Astle, keeper of the Tower Records, relates an achievement of this kind by Dr. Willes, whom an incredulous Secretary of State experimented upon with a Swedish cryptogram. (History of Writing, page 178.)

In the case of such monuments as those now before us, it is not to be supposed that mere concealment was the object of those who inscribed the characters. They were probably familiar to those for whose information they were designed. Where, as in the St. Dogmael's stone, the words on the face, in Roman letters, are identical, or nearly so, with the words cut in ogham characters, the repetition was, perhaps, an idle fancy, or was meant to inform those who knew the ogham, better than the Roman, alphabet. Other reasons however, may be imagined for varying the form of inscription. There may have been a mysterious sanctity connected with the use of the oghams ; and in Ireland, the native country of that variety of rune, some such feeling is said to be still associated with it, which is thought to have helped to preserve the memorials from destruction. Mr. Windele states, in a paper in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, that he knew of a case where the death of a person was popularly ascribed to the destruction of an ogham stone by him. At all events the facility with which this simple sort of carving can be executed, must have much recommended it to a rude sculptor.

Since the discovery of these stones with double inscriptions, they have been called "bilingual,"—a term which is inappropriate, unless the ogham be a different *language*, and not a mere difference of *alphabet*. Where the population of a country is compounded of different races, it may become a bilingual people. In the country of the Rosetta stone, one, or perhaps two, local languages coexisted with the language of its Greek rulers. In the country of the Nativity, the Syro-Chaldee and Greek coexisted with the official language of its Roman conquerors; and hence the epigraph on the cross. Even in your own county, about 530 years ago, we find that the business of an episcopal visitation at the Land's End could not be conducted without the use of three languages at least; namely, English, French, and Cornish, the last alone being intelligible to the rustics, and the Vicar of St. Just being their interpreter. Indeed if, as I suspect, the Bishop's sermon was in Latin, we then have a sort of trilingual, at least, if not quadrilingual, sermon preached in the presence of the Boscawens and Vyvyans in the year 1336 by the famous Bishop who built the nave and façade of Exeter Cathedral.* But where a stone professes only to commemorate the existence of one "Sagranus, filius Cunotami," in Roman letters on its face, and the same "Sagramnus maqi cunotami," in oghams on its edge, the stone is hardly entitled to the name of a bilingual one.

With regard to the Fardel stone under consideration, I read the word on one side of this stone SAGRANUS or perhaps SAGRANVI. On the other, FANONI MAQVIRINI. The two latter must be the genitive cases of two names—and I should interpret it to mean, [The stone, or monument,] "of FANON MACVIRINUS,"

* This incident is recorded in the Register of Bishop Grandison, of which I furnished a note to the Editor of Notes and Queries in 1852.

or "of FANON son of VIRINUS." But this, to a certain extent, is matter of conjecture, and you must form your own judgment on it. In the Welsh stone of St. Dogmael the word MAQI occurs in the ogham in the place of "filii" in the Roman inscription, and this alone (if anything) constitutes the bilingual part of it.

I have already stated that we look to the antiquaries of Ireland for the elucidation of these remarkable cryptographs. In that Island they occur in numbers which plainly mark it as the *chef-lieu*, if not the birth-place, of the ogham writing. The number of inscribed stones collected is now perhaps not short of 150, besides the paper or parchment manuscripts in that character, or in some variety of it, in the libraries both of that country and of England. The learned bodies of Ireland have, during some years past, been very instructive on the subject, and, although opinions widely differ on the date of this writing, and, I am sorry to say, still more widely on the interpretation of some of the inscriptions, the existence of an Irish rune, peculiar to the race, is no longer matter of reasonable doubt. On this head I must refer you to the excellent papers of Mr. Windele, of Dr. C. Graves, of Mr. Nash, and others, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vols. 1 and 2; the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*; the *Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society*, 1856, 1857, (new series); and more especially to the proceedings of the *Royal Academy of Ireland*, Vol. 4, pp. 70, 173, 254, 356, and Vol. 5, pp. 234, 401, where the judicious and satisfactory papers of Dr. C. Graves will furnish the reader with the present state of all the learning of ogham epigraphy. His present opinion seems to be that the ogham is not a primitive alphabet of pagan origin, but presupposes, and is founded upon, a preexisting language and alphabet: that this preexisting language was either

debased Latin or Gaelic, expressed in letters of Roman origin, such as the Saxon and Gaelic alphabets are : that the date of the character is probably *not* antecedent to Christianity in Ireland, but is contemporary with, or subsequent to, it. He is also inclined to regard the keys, found in the older MSS. and grammars, as authentic, though not of universal application.

He seems to place much reliance on that found in the book of Ballymote, which, however, differs but slightly from those found in other manuscripts.

From the above authorities we also learn that the diphthongs prevalent in the native Erse or Gaelic of Ireland, are not of early date, except that of *ea*, represented by the sign X, placed across the "fleasg" * or medial stem line. The letter *p* is said to be represented by the letters *bh*, or by a line, —, parallel with the stem. *a* and *o* are represented by the same character in some oghams. Indeed the interchange of these letters is not uncommon in other palæography.

It may be stated, generally, that the common keys vary from one another in several respects. All consist of four groups of five letters, or compound letters, each ; 15 being consonantal and 5 vocal, exclusive of diph- and triph-thongs ; but as to the *side* of the ridge on which the first and second groups are to stand, and as to the diagonal or rectangular position of those that cross the line (as the vowels generally are found to do), the keys vary.

The letters or characters are written continuously, and are usually equidistant, as in the old manuscripts and inscriptions in the classical languages. They commence (as other runes do) from bottom upwards, and, if

* Dr. Graves calls the stem or ridge of the stone, the "featha," and the lateral twigs the "fleasgs;" but the word is used differently by most other oghamists.

need be, over the stone to the opposite edge ; whereas the inscriptions in Roman letters begin from the top, as Borlase had observed in Cornwall. Both in Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland, the figure of the cross has occurred, and is apparently contemporaneous with the inscriptions ; but the majority have no such emblem.

Let us now consider how these Irish memorials (assuming them to be such) have found their place on the English side of the channel,—viz., in Devon, Wales, and part of Scotland ? Are they monuments of a contemporaneous identity of races on both sides ? or of the visits and settlements of one race on the land and territory of another ?

The simplest solution, and the one most consistent with history and tradition, seems to me to be that which refers them to the visits and settlements, hostile as well as friendly, of the *Scoti*, or Irish, on the west coast of this country, in the 4th, 5th, and later centuries. These Irish inhabitants of the ancient *Ierne*, or *Juverna*, had invaded our coasts as early as the Roman rule, and Claudian, the Roman poet, alludes to the successful campaigns of Stilicho against them, when, “The cold Ierne mourned her slaughtered Scots.”* Later descents and settlements on the west coast, and even in Somersetshire, are noticed by the annalists of Ireland and Wales, and they eventually gave to the northern part of this Island the name of “Scotland.”

The incursions noticed by Claudian seem by the context to refer to the northern settlements, or perhaps to the Welsh coast ; but we have an authority, which has been treated by the best Irish historians as trustworthy, for bringing these settlements further south. We are informed that a certain Crimhthan Mor Mac

* “*Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*” Claud. de Quarto Consulatu, &c., v, 33 ; and other trite passages.

Fidhaigh, an Irish chieftain, called "Crimthonus filius Fidogi" in Lynch's translation of Keating, and dignified by the name of king, (at a time when kings were at a discount in that Island; the article being very plentiful there,) invaded the west of England, and established Irish colonies in Cornwall and Somersetshire, erecting fortresses there as far inland as Glastonbury. These settlers retained their ground long after the arrival of St. Patrick, in the 5th century. For this authority I am indebted to a very eminent scholar and historian, Dr. O'Donovan, the latest editor of the "Four Masters," who has cited it in the introduction to his valuable Irish Grammar. Hence we have the nucleus and traces of an Erse or Scottish population on both sides of the Channel, almost coextensive with the whole western coast of Britain.*

Nor is this all. The ecclesiastical dedications of our western churches bear decisive traces of the presence of Irish missions long before the arrival of Augustine and his clergy on the mission of Gregory; for you will remember that Christianity was planted in Britain long before the Saxons became Christians, and probably even before Patrick commenced his labours in the sister Island. We have in Cornwall churches whose names commemorate Pieran, Breaca, Petrock, Columb, Kiaran, Finn Barr, and others, veritable Irish saints, some of whom may have been the companions of St. Patrick himself.

Indeed all the earlier race of Cornish saints, who underlie the later hagiology of the mission to the Saxons and the subsequent importations from the Norman and French religious houses, may be safely said to be shared by the Keltic district, west of the Exe, in common with Ireland, Wales, and Armorican

* The Newton stone in Scotland is, however, nearer the east, than the west, coast.

France. It is not without some ground that Camden has said, "Sanctos Hibernicos et indigetes suos Cornubiæ gens ut tutelares ita semper suscepit, ut omnia ferè oppida illis consecraverit." Thus Finn Barrus, the early dedication of Fowey, is the patron saint of Cork. He was superseded at Fowey by St. Nicholas in 1336. St. Burian, or Berriana, was of Irish extraction. Monast. Dioc. Exon., page 6, (n.). Petrock was a Welshman, educated for his mission in Ireland. *Ibid.* 15. Hia (St. Ive) was of Irish origin. *Ibid.* 439. St. Erth is suspected of being Irish. *Ibid.* 438. St. Senan was of Irish extraction, and a contemporary of St. David of Wales, himself of Irish parentage. *Ibid.* 442. St. Keverne is the same as Kieran and Kerrian at Exeter. Tavistock and Romansleigh in Devon, and the three Ruans in Cornwall, are all said to be named after Rumonus, an Irish saint, who died in Cornwall. *Ibid.* 89. And the same Irish hagiology is often traceable in West Devon, where more recent dedications have superseded the Keltic nomenclature. It is perhaps not generally known that the church of Harford, next adjoining to Cornwood, where the Fardel property is situate, was ascertained by Dr. Oliver to be a reputed dedication to St. Patrick. The Doctor was unable to discover the patron saint of Harford before he printed the additional supplement to his Monasticon in 1854, where the discovery is stated. I believe that middle age dedications to the tutelar saints of Ireland are rare in England, and I should have expected to find *St. Petrock*, rather than *St. Patrick*; but Dr. Oliver is not likely to have misread the document to which he refers, though the document may, possibly, itself have erred. The dedication of Cornwood church was a comparatively recent one, in 1336, and perhaps St. Michael on that occasion displaced some older Scoto-Gaelic patron whose name has perished.

But on this I have said enough—and more than

enough,—for such an occasion as the present. My own strong impression is that most of the inscribed stones of this class, discovered in the West, will be found to belong to Christian times.

Those who may hereafter direct their attention to monuments of the kind now before us, will do well to examine carefully, not only the larger inscriptions in Roman letters, but also the edges and angles of the slab, so that these runic scorings, if any, may not escape their notice. Indeed those of Cornwall and Devon deserve to be re-examined with this view. By careful observations of this kind we may chance to throw important light on the ethnography of the British Islands, and to illustrate by authentic records, more ancient than any native manuscripts we possess, the most obscure periods of our history.

I have subjoined some printed illustrations of this paper for the satisfaction of those who had no opportunity of seeing the drawings exhibited at the Meeting.

Since the above was printed I have received from my friend, Mr. Nash, the following note, which goes far to show that, on this stone, as on the Welsh one, the ogham probably only repeats the Roman inscription.

“It seems clear to me that the ogham characters on the right hand side of the stone, furnish a name so similar to that inscribed in Roman characters on the face,—‘*Maquirini*,’—that notwithstanding some difficulty occasioned by two of the letters in the oghams, it is impossible to doubt that the same word is intended to be represented. There are nine letters in ‘*Maquirini*,’ and eight distinct sets of characters in the ogham; but this difference offers no difficulty, as the vowel ‘*u*’ which follows the ‘*q*’ in the Latinized form, is very constantly absent in the ogham.

“The first four letters of the ogham are M, A, Q, I, the sixth is an I, and the eighth is also an I. The fifth and seventh, which, to

correspond with the Roman letters, should be R and N, are, however (as the rubbing before me gives them), a Q and a C. The name, therefore, as written in ogham, if the characters are really as represented, will be MAQIQICI. The seventh character is, no doubt, truly represented as a C, and under no circumstances can it represent the letter N of '*Maquirini*,' because the strokes composing it are on the upper side of the central line, or 'fleasg.' But it is very possible that the five strokes of the fifth letter may originally have been carried over the side of the stone, below the central line, which would give the value R. If this be so, we obtain the name of '*Maquirin*,' which may fairly be supposed to represent that of MAC EIC, a Saint, the founder and first bishop of the church of Donaghmore, in the present diocese of Dromore. He lived in the middle of the fifth century."

I should add that Mr. Nash has only seen a rubbing, and not the stone itself. By comparing the engraving of the stone with the annexed key, the reader may easily verify the contents of this communication.

E. S.

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